

185
HISTORY
OF
HENRY IV.

SURNAMED

The Great,
King of *France* and *Navarre*.

Written Originally in French,
By the Bishop of *Rodez*, once Tutor to
his now most Christian Majesty;
And made English by *J. D.*

L O N D O N :

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THE HISTORY OF

THE

ROYAL NAVY

AND

THE ROYAL AIR FORCE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

BY

ADMIRAL LORD ALBERT ROBERTS

OF THE ROYAL NAVY

AND

THE ROYAL AIR FORCE

WITH

AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING



To his Sacred Majesty,
C H A R L E S
THE SECOND,
King of *Great Britain,*
France and *Ireland.*

Dread *SIR,*



Ith all that *humble*
Reverence that
becomes a *Low*
but *Loyal Sub-*
ject and *Servant* to his So-
veraign *Lord* and *Master,*
cast I at Your *feet* this pre-
sent *Address.* Those *Stars*

A 2 that

The Epistle Dedicatory.

that move in the *Lowest*
Orb, receive their *light* and
lustre from the *Sun*, as well
as *those* that *wander* in a
more *exalted* heaven; and
therefore, may possibly be
capable to return some
grateful Influences; though
not in so great a *quantity*,
yet in a *quality* as *pure* and
candid.

However, all my *courage*
could not have *inspired* me
with a *presumption* to *pre-*
sent any thing of *mine* to so
glorious a Majesty, had it
not born in its *Frontispice*
the name of HENRY THE
GREAT,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

GREAT, Your Royal and
Renowned Grandfather; a
Prince of so Sublime a Vir-
tue, of so Heroick a Cou-
rage, of such Activity in War,
and such Prudence in Peace,
that he justly became both the
love and terror of the age he
lived in.

And, Great Sir, give me
leave to tell you, that never
did the Life of any Prince
since the Creation, bear so
equal a Parallel with Your
Maiestie's, as that of this Re-
nowned King. If your mise-
ries and misfortunes have
exceeded his, God hath made

The Epistle Dedicatory

it by evident Demonſtrances appear that he intends to make your Glories and Happineſs as far ſurpaſs thoſe of your Royal Grandfather. You both had Leaguers armed with Rebellion, Obſtinacy and Ambition, under a Cloak of zeal to Religion, to oppoſe you; and you both, aſiſted by a Miraculous Providence of Heaven, overcame them. You both by Arms long ſtruggled for your Rights: but as if God had intended you both for true Fathers of your Countries, and the Foundations whereon he would ſettle
an

The Epistle Dedicatory.

an absolute *happiness* in your *Kingdoms*, so long *afflicted* with *Civil Wars*, and those *terrors* which attend them; he brought you both to *spotless Thrones*, *unbesmeared* with *blood*.

How soon was *France* redeemed from those *plagues* it so long had *endured*, at the *entrance* of the *Great Henry* into the *Chair of Royalty*, who as a *Rising Sun*, *darted* forth those *Salutiferous* *rayes* which *shone* upon, and *enriched* the *remotest* parts of his *Territories*! How soon were all *Factions* *dissipated*!

The Epistle Dedicatory,

and how soon did he by his
Prudent Conduct reconcile
the most *obstinate Spirits* !
In fine, in how short time
was *France*, from a Den of
Atheists, Theeves, and Rob-
bers, become the Nursery of
Piety, Arts and Industry !

England (Dread Sove-
raign) *suffered* under the
same *Fate* her neighbour-
ing *Sister* had long since
been *Subject* to , when *Hea-*
ven was *graciously* pleased to
restore you to your *Crown* :
And you have *already* made
us not onely *hope*, but *see*,
that you have *designed* to
restore

The Epistle Dedicatory.

restore to us such *happineſſes*,
that we cannot juſtly *envy*
thoſe which *France* enjoyed
under her *beloved* H E N R Y.
How well have you *ſetled*
both our *Church* and *State*?
How well have you *reconci-*
led our *Diffentions*? with
how much *too* great a *mercy*
(give me Sir leave to *fear* ſo)
have you *pardoned* the moſt
obſtinate of your enemies?
and how may we *hope* (if the
malice of thoſe *obſtinate* Spi-
rits yet *diſturb* not our
Tranquillity) to enjoy under
your Government the moſt
happy and *flourishing* daies
that

The Epistle Dedicatory.

that ever *Great Britain* beheld!

But Sir, that I may conclude, and not seem tedious to your Majesty; may the *God of heaven* inspire into the *hearts* of your people a true *sense* of your *goodness* and *paternal* love to them; may he *correct* the *improbous* malice of those who yet dare to be your *enemies*; may he *incline* you still to *prosecute* such *Maximes* of good Government, both in *Church* and *State*, as may make both equally *Flourish*; may he *Augment* your *Glories*, and
raise

The Epistle Dedicatory.

raise them *above* those of
your *Grand-father*, HENRY
the Fourth; may he *bleſs*
us *all*, by giving you a long
and *happy* Reign; and when
that *miſery* (though late)
arrives us of loſing you,
may we yet be made *bleſſed*
in that *Succession* from your
Loynes that may *endure* for
ever. Thus Prayes,

SIR,

The humbleſt and faithfulleſt,
though the meanest of your
Majeſties Subjects and Ser-
vants,

J. D.



The Translator to the Reader.

BEhold here a History compiled by one of the most able, and (let me testifie thus much) one of the most moderate and impartial Pens of *Europe*. It was fitted for the hand of a King; and is the Life of one whom his own Actions will declare to have better deserved the name of *Great*, then that proud *Macedonian*, who wept that he had no more Worlds to conquer. For though he gained not such signal Victories, nor over-ran so many Countries; yet he was possessed of more Vertues, then the other of Cities; and Vertue is the fairest Mother of true Greatness. But, *Reader*, I forestal thy delight in its Reading: go on, therefore; but with Deliberation.

J. D.

The



THE
AUTHOR
TO THE
READER.

READER,

T*His History of Henry the Great, is onely a small part of the Summary or Epitomy of the general History of France, which I have composed by the command of the King, and for the instruction of his Majesty. It having been my intention onely to gather together all that might serve to form*

The Author to the Reader.

a great Prince, and render him capable of Reigning well; I have not thought it convenient to enter into a particular Recital of things, or to recount at length all Wars and Affairs, as Historians do, who are to write for all sorts of persons. I have onely took the Sum, and recounted those Circumstances I have judged the fairest, and the most instructive; leaving apart all the rest, to shorten matter, and to give in epitomy an account of all that passed, which might inform the spirit of the King, without surcharging his memory. This hath been my designe: if it hath not succeeded so well as could be wish'd, I hope, READER, that my Endeavour will appear praise-worthy. I doubt not but there are in this Work some Mistakes which I may not have perceiv'd, but which cannot escape Eyes more clear-

The Author to the Reader.

clear-sighted. The History is accompanied with so many Circumstances, that it is almost impossible not to be deceived in some: Yet I believe I have written nothing for which I have not my Warrant. And if you finde in any Author the contrary of what I have said, I intreat you to consider that our Historians do in many things so differ among themselves, that who takes the judgement of one, must necessarily contradict the other. In this diversity I have followed those whom I believed the best and most assured. I acknowledge likewise that I could not refrain borrowing from them whole Paragraphs where they have pleased me, and that I have thought I could better explain my self by their Expressions, then my own. However, if this be a fault, it is but a light one, and ought to be
par-

The Author to the Reader.

*pardoned, since ingeniously confest.
For other more remarkable ones I
may have committed, I presume on
your goodness, that, Reader, you
will not treat me with the utmost
rigour; but that you will have as
much indulgence for me, as I have
in this Work had Zeal for the Ser-
vice of my King, and Affection
for the good of France.*

The



THE HISTORY

OF
HENRY the Great,
King of France and Navarre.

To the King.

S I R,



That Respect and Love which
all good French-men have
still conserved for the hap-
py Memory of King *Henry*
the Great your Grandfather,
represents it self as fresh to
their remembrance, as if he still reigned; and

B

Re-

The History of

Renown conserves the Splendour of his fair Actions in the Hearts and Mouthes of Men, as lively and entirely as in the time of his Triumphs. But we may say moreover, when we consider your Majesty, That he hath regained a new Life in your Person, and that he makes himself dayly be seen under a Visage yet more August, and by Vertues which appear as redoubtable to the Enemies of *France*, as they are sweet and charming to its People.

In truth, Sir, that praise-worthy Impatience which your Majesty hath testified (when I presented our History to your reading) to come to this glorious Reign, and for it to leave behind seven or eight others of Kings that preceded him, is a most certain proof that you desire him for your Model, and that you have resolved to study his Conduct, and conserve it in the Government of your Estates. Your happy Birth, and your Inclinations wholly Royal, lead you to it: The Hopes and Votes of your Subjects agree to it: The Necessities of your Kingdom, afflicted with the Miseries of the longest War it ever sustained, oblige you to it; and Heaven hath disposed you to it by so many Graces and eminent Qualities, that it would be difficult for you not to follow the fair Examples of this great Monarch. I dare likewise say (and I may speak it with truth) that it will not be impossible for you to surpass him, if you enforce your self to improve well all those Advantages wherewith Heaven hath endowed you above other Princes of your Age.

Yes,

HENRY the Great.

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Yes, Sir, he hath to you, as well as to the King your Grandfather, given a generous Soul, good and beneficent; a Spirit elevated, and capable of the greatest things; a Memory happy and facile; a Courage Heroick and Martial; a Judgement neat and solid; a strong and vigorous Health: but he hath moreover given you one Advantage this great Prince never had; that is, A Majestick Presence; an Air and Port almost Divine; a Person and Beauty worthy the Empire of the Universe, which attracts the Eyes and Respects of all the World, and which without the force of Arms, without the authority of Commands, will gain you all those by whom your Majesty shall make your Self be seen.

I will not speak of the Prosperities of your Estates since your happy Advancement to the Crown; how you have been proclaimed Conquerer as soon as King; how by the assisting Counsels of your great Ministers, your Frontiers have been extended on all sides, and your Enemies everywhere defeated: but I ought not to forget that singular Grace which Heaven hath conferred on you, by instructing you in the Catholick Religion, and in true Piety, by the continual Diligences and Examples of the Queen your Mother; the which was without doubt wanting to the Youth of our Henry.

You cannot, Sir, with so fair Dispositions, with so many super-excelling Favours of Heaven, be confined beneath the Glory and Re-

The History of

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pitation of this great Prince. Remember, if you please, that you have done me the honour to tell me more then once, that you ardently aspire to a like Perfection, and that you have no greater Ambition. All *France*, who at present have their Eyes upon you, rejoyce to see the Effects already second your Desires, and that you strive as puissantly to imitate, as you have passionaely desired to hear the Recital of so fair a Life.

“Your Majesty knows that Walls pass but
“for Weaknesses, when they render not them-
“selves efficacious; and are so far from being
“worthy praise, that they condemn those
“who have them so much the more, because
“they see well what they ought to do, and
“have not the heart to attempt or enterprize
“it. The way of Vertue at first glance seems
“rude, but it conducts to the Temple of
“Glory; where it is certain we arrive not by
“simple Thoughts, and idle Discourses, but
“by Labour, Application and Perseverance.

I have often taken the Liberty to represent to your Majesty, That Royalty is no Infant-Mystery; That it consists almost altogether in Action; That a King ought to make his Duty his Delights; and, That he ought to know how to Reign; that is, how to hold himself the Helm of his Estate, the better to Conduct them with Vigour, Wisdome and Justice.

“Who knows not that there is no Honour
“in bearing a Title, without executing the
“Functions of it? That it is in vain to have
“acquitted

HENRY the Great.

“acquainted the best knowledge, without la-
“bouring to reduce it into practice? That
“it is ridiculous to propose to our selves a
“great Model, unless it be effectually imita-
“ted? And in fine, that it is nothing to un-
“derstand by heart all the Maximes of Poli-
“cy, if we apply them not to their right Use?
“Without lying, he that hath Eyes, and will
“not open them; who hath Arms, and will
“not take the pains to move them, is in a
“worse estate then the Blinde or the Crip-
“ple.

I cannot dissemble, Sir, that unspeakable
Joy I have sometimes conceived, when I have
understood from the Mouth of your Majesty,
that you would chuse rather never to have wore a
Crown, then not your Self to govern it; but re-
semble those Infant-Kings of the first Race,
who, as all our Historians say, served onely as
Idols to the Majors of their Palace; and who
had had no Name, but onely to mark the year
in the Chronologie.

But it will be enough to make France know
how much your Majesty condemns that sleepy
Lethargie, to tell them that you are at present
resolved to imitate your Grandfather Henry
the Great, who hath been the most active and
most laborious of all our Kings; who hath de-
dicated himself with most Diligence to the Ma-
nagement of his Affairs, and who hath cheri-
shed his Estates and People with most Affec-
tion and most Tenderness. This is to declare
that your Majesty hath taken a firm Resolu-

tion to put your hand to the Work; to know both the inside and outside of your Realm; to preside in your Counsels; to give feet and motion to all Resolutions; to have a continual Eye over your Revenues; to cause a true, faithful and exact Account to be given; to distribute Graces and Recompences to those of your Creatures shall prove worthy; in fine, fully and amply to enjoy your Authority. It is thus the incomparable Henry acted, whom we are about to see reign, not only in France by right of Blood, but over all Europe by the effects of his Vertue.

In effect, since the first foundation of the French Monarchy, the History furnisheth us not with any Reign more memorable, by reason of the great Events, more repleat with the wonders of Divine Assistance, more glorious for the Prince, and more happy for the People, than his; and it is without Flattery or Envy that all the Universe hath given him the surname of *Great*; not so much for the greatness of his Victories, however comparable to those of *Alexander* or *Pompey*, as for the greatness of his Soul and of his Courage; for he never bow'd either under the Insults of Fortune, or under the Traverses of his Enemies, or under the Resentments of Revenge, or under the Artifices of Favorites or Ministers: he remained always in the same temper, always Master of himself. In a word, he remained always King and Sovereign, without acknowledging other Superiour than God, Justice and Reason.

Let

HENRY the Great.

Let us then proceed to write the History of The Life of *Hen. the Great*, which we shall divide into three principal Parts, divided into three parts. The first.

The first shall contain what happened from his Birth till his coming to the Crown of France.

The second shall speak what he did after he came to it, until the Peace of *Vervin*. The second.

And the third shall recount his Actions after the Peace of *Vervin*, until the unhappy day of his death. The third.

But before all, it is necessary we speak something briefly of his Genealogie.

He was Son to *Anthony de Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendosme* and King of *Navarre*, and of *Jane* of *Albret*, Heiress of that Kingdome. His Genealogie.

Anthony descended in a direct and Masculine Line from *Robert* Count of *Clermont*, fifth Son to King *St. Lewis*. Who *Anthony* de *Bourbon* his father was.

This *Robert* espoused *Beatrix*, Daughter and Heiress to *John* of *Burgoyne*, Baron of *Bourbon*, by his Wife *Agnes*; for which cause *Robert* took the Name of *Bourbon*, but not the Arms, still keeping those of *France*.

This sage Pre-caution served well to his Descendants, to maintain themselves in the Degree of Princes of the Blood, which those

a Peter, of Courtnay (a) lost, for not having acted
 fifth Son to in the same manner. And besides the Ver-
 Lewis le tue which gave a splendour to their Acti-
 gross, e- ons, the good management and œconomy
 spoused I- which they exercised to conserve and augment
 Isabella their Revenues, the great Alliances in which
 Heiress of Courtnay, they were very diligent to match themselves,
 and took ever refusing to mingle their Noble among
 both Name Vulgar Blood; and above all, their rare Piety
 and Arms: towards God, and that singular goodness
 a fault very wherewith they acted towards their Inferiors,
 prejudicial conserved them, and elevated them above
 to his po- Princes of elder Branches: for the People see-
 verity. ing them always rich, puissant, wise, and in a
 word, worthy to command, had imprinted in
 their spirits as it were a prophetick perswasion
 that this House would one day come to the
 Crown; and they on their side seemed to
 have conceived this hope, though it were at
 great distance, having taken for their Word or
 Device, *Espeir, or Hope.*

Among the younger Branches which issued
 from this Branch of Bourbon (b), the most con-
 siderable and most illustrious was that of *Ven-*
dosme. It carried this Name, because they
 possessed that great Country, which came to
 them in the year 1364. by the marriage of
 Katharine Vendosme, (Sister and Heiress to
 Bouchard last Count of Vendosme) with John
 of Bourbon Count of the Marches. At present
 it was but a County, but was after made a
 Dutchy by King Francis the first, in the year
 1514. in favour of Charles, who was great
 grand-

grand-child to John, and father of Anthony. This Charles had seven Male-Children; Lewis, Charles, Anthony, Francis, another Lewis, Charles, John, and a third Lewis: the first Lewis and the second died in their infancy; Anthony remained the eldest; Francis, who was Count of Anguén, and gained the Battel of Cerisoles, died without being married. Charles was a Cardinal of the title of Chrysogone, and Archbishop of Rouen: this is he who was named The old Cardinal of Bourbon. John lost his life at the Battel of St. Quintin. The third Lewis was called The Prince of Condé, and by two Marriages had several Male-Children; from the first descended Henry Prince of Condé, Francis Prince of Conty, and Charles, who was Cardinal and Archbishop of Rouen after the Death of the old Cardinal of Bourbon.

Charles
Duke of
Vendosme
had Anthony,
and six
other sons.

There were eight Generations from Male in Male, from St. Lewis to Anthony, who was Duke of Vendosme, King of Navarre, and father to our Henry.

As for Jane d' Albret his Wife, she was Daughter and Heiress to Henry of Albret, King of Navarre, and of Margaret du Valois, Sister to King Francis the first, and Widow to the Duke of Alençon. Henry d' Albret was son to John d' Albret, who became King of Navarre by his Wife Katherine du Foix, Sister to King Phœbus deceased without Children; for that Realm had entred into the House of Foix by marriage, as it did afterwards in-

Who Jane
d' Albret
his Mother
was.

to that of *Albret*, and since into that of *Bourbon*.

Ferdinand King of *Arragon*, had invaded and taken the Higher *Navarre*, that is, that part which is beyond the *Pyrenean Hills*, and the most considerable of that Realm, from King *John d'Albret*; so that by consequence there rested to him onely the Lower, that is, that beneath the Mountains towards *France*; but with it he had the Countries of *Bearn*, of *Albret*, of *Foix*, of *Armagnac*, of *Bigorra*, and many other great Signories coming as well by the House of *Foix*, as that of *Albret*.

Henry his Son had onely one Daughter, *Jane*, who was called The Minion of Kings: for King *Henry* her Father, and the great King *Francis* the first her Uncle, with Envy to each other, strove most to cherish her.

The Emperour *Charles* the fifth had cast his Eyes on her, and caused her to be demanded of her Father for his Son *Philip* the second; proposing this as a means to pacifie their Differences touching the Kingdome of *Navarre*: but King *Francis* the first, not thinking it fit to introduce so puissant an Enemy into *France*, causing her to come to *Chastellerault*, affianced her to the Duke of *Cleves*; and after releasing her of that Contract, married her to *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendosme*: and the Marriage was solemnized at *Moulins*, in the year 1547. the same year that *Francis* the first died.

and of
1547.
1547.
Bourbon,
Duke of
Vendosme,
and Jane
d'Albret,
married at
Moulins
1547.

The

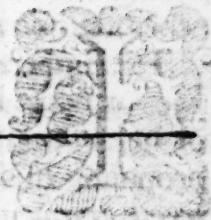
HENRY the Great.

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The two young Sponſes had in their firſt three or four years, two Sons; both which died at *Berceux* by accidents very extraordinary: the firſt, becauſe its Governess being her ſelf cold of nature, kept it ſo hot, that ſhe ſtifled it with heat; and the ſecond by the careleſſneſs of the Nurſe, who playing with a Gentleman, as they danced the Child from one to another, let it fall to the ground, ſo that it died in torment. Thus Heaven deprived them of theſe two little Princes, to make way for our *Henry*; who merited well both the Birth-right, and to be an onely Son.

Let us now come to the Hiſtory of his Life.

I have not been preciſely known in what place Henry the Great was conceived. The common opinion holds that it was at la Fliche in Artois; there where ſaid way of Bamber his father and the Princeſs of Navarre his mother, ſojourn- ed from the end of February, 1552, until the middle of May, in the year 1553. But it is certain that the laſt perceived her conce- ption, and ſet it move, at the Camp in Ar- tois, where ſhe was with her husband, who was Governor of that Province, and who was gone from la Fliche to command an Army a- gainſt Charles the ſixth. It was moſt likly, that



1552.
Henry the
Great con-
ceived at
la Fliche.

1553.

The First PART
OF THE
LIFE
OF
HENRY the Great :

Containing his History from his Birth,
until he came to the Crown
of FRANCE.

1552.
Henry the
Great con-
ceived at
la Fleche.



It hath not been precisely
known in what place *Henry*
the Great was conceived.
The common opinion holds
that it was at *la Fleche* in
Anjou ; there where *Anthony*
of *Bourbon* his father, and

1553.

the Princess of *Navarre* his mother, sojourn-
ed from the end of *February*, anno 1552, until
the middle of *May*, in the year 1553. But it
is certain that she first perceived her conce-
ption, and felt it move, at the Camp in *Picar-*
dy, where she was with her husband, who was
Governour of that Province, and who was
gone from *la Fleche* to command an Army a-
gainst *Charles* the fifth. It was most just, that he

he who was destined to be an extraordinary Prince, should begin the first motions of his life in a Camp, at the noise of Trumpets and Cannon, as a true childe of Mars.

His grandfather *Henry d'Albret*, who yet lived, having understood that his daughter was with childe, recalled her home to him; desiring himself to take care for the conservation of this new fruit, which, by a secret pre-sentiment, he was wont to say ought to revenge him of those injuries the Spaniards had done him.

This courageous Princess taking then leave of her husband, parted from *Compeigne* the fifteenth of *November*; traversed all *France* to the *Pyrenean* mountains, and arrived at *Pau* in *Bearne*, where the King her father was, the fourth day of *December*, not having stay'd above eighteen or nineteen days on her journey: and the thirtieth of the same month, she was happily brought to bed of a son.

Before this, King *Henry d'Albret* had made his Will; which the Princess his daughter had a great desire to see, because it was reported that it was made to her disadvantage, in favour of a Lady that good man had loved. She durst not speak to him of it; but he being advertised of her desire, he promised to shew it her, and put it in her hands, when she should shew him what she carried in her womb; but on condition, that at her delivery she should sing a Song; to the end (said he) that thou bringst not into the world a weak and weep.

Part I. *weeping infant.* The Prince's promised him; and had so much courage, that maugre the great pains she suffered, she kept her word, and

Hismother sung one in the *Bearnois* language, so soon as
sings at her she understood he was entred into the cham-
delivery of ber. It was observed that the infant, contra-
him, ry to the common order of Nature, came into
He cries the world without weeping or crying. Nor
not at his was it fit, that a Prince who ought to be the
birth, joy of all France, should be born among tears
 and groans.

So soon as So soon as he was born, his grandfather car-
born, his ried him in the skirt of his Robe into his
grandfa- own chamber; giving his Will, which was in
ther car- a box of gold, to his daughter; telling her,
ries him *My daughter, see there what is for you; but this*
into his *is for me.* Whilst he held the infant, he rub-
chamber: bed his little lips with a clove of Garlick, and
he rubs his made him suck a draught of Wine out of a
lips with golden cup; that he might render his tempe-
Garlick, & rament more masculine and vigorous.
makes him
taste wine.

The Spani- The Spaniards had formerly said in Raillery
ards Rail- concerning the birth of the mother of our
lery con- *Henry; O wonder! the Cow hath brought forth*
cerning the *an Ewe.* meaning by that word *Cow*, Queen
birth of *Margaret* her mother, whom they called so;
his mother and her husband, *Cow-keeper*, alluding to the
 Arms of *Bearn*, which are two Cows. And
 King *Henry* resting assured of the future great-
 ness of his little grandchilde, taking him of-
 ten in his arms, kissing him; and remembering
 the foolish Raillery of the Spaniards, spoke
 with joy to all those who came to visit him,
 and

HENRY the Great.

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and congratulate this happy birth : See (said Part I. he) how my Eve hath now brought forth a Li- Her fathers on ! Reply to it

He was baptized the year following, on Twelfth-day, being the sixth of January, 1554. For this Baptism, were expressly made Fonts of silver richly gilded ; in which he was baptized, in the Chappel of the Castle of Pau. His Godfathers were Henry the second King of France, and Henry d' Albret King of Navarre ; who gave him their Name : and the Godmother was Madam Claudia of France, after Dutchess of Lorain. Jaques de Poix then Bishop of Lescar, and after Cardinal, held him over the Font, in the name of the Most Christian King ; and Madam d'Andovins in the name of Madam Claudia of France. He was baptized by the Cardinal of Armagnac Bishop of Rhodex and Vice-Legat of Avignon. 1554 Baptism of Hen. 4. His godfathers and godmother.

He was however difficult to be brought up, having seven or eight Nurses, of which the last had all the honour. At his being weaned, the King gave him for Governess Susan de Bourbon wife of John d' Albret Baron of Miossens, who elevated him in the Castle of Coarasse in Bearn, situated amongst the rocks and mountains. He was hard to bring up. He had for Governess Madam de Miossens.

His grandfather would not permit him to be nourished with that delicateness ordinarily used to persons of his quality ; knowing well, that there seldom lodged other then a mean and feeble soul in a soft and tender body. He like- His grandfather permits him not to be nourished delicately.

Part I. likewise denied him rich habiliments, and childrens usual bables; "or that he should be flattered or treated like a Prince; because all those things were onely the causers of vanity, and rather raised pride in the hearts of infants, then any sentiments of generositie: but he commanded that he should be habited and nourished * like the other infants of the Country, and likewise that they should accustom him to run and mount up the rocks; that by such means he might use himself to labour, and, if we may speak so, give a temperature to that young body; to render it the more strong and vigorous: which was without doubt most necessary for a Prince who was to suffer so much to reconquer his Estate.

** It hath been said that he was ordinarily nourished with coarse bread, beef, cheese and garlick; and that oftentimes he was made to march with naked feet, and bare headed*

The death of Henry d'Albret. King Henry d'Albret died at Hagetman in Bearn, on the five and twentieth of May, 1555. being aged about fifty three years, or thereabouts. He ordained by his Will, that his body should be carried to Pampelona, to be interred with his predecessors; and that in the mean time it should be laid in State in the Cathedral of Lescar in Bearn. This Prince was courageous, of a great spirit, sweet and courteous to all the world, and so nobly liberal, that Charles the fifth once passing thorow Navarre, was in such manner received, that he protested he had never seen a more magnificent Prince.

His daughter & son-in-law succeeded him,

After his death, Jane his daughter, and Anthony Duke of Vendosme his son-in-law, succeeded him. They were at present at the Court

Court of *France* ; and with much difficulty Part I.
obtained their leave to retire to *Bearn* : for and retire
King *Henry* the second , pressed to it by ill from the
Counsel , would have deprived them of the Court.
Lower *Navarre*, which yet remained to them ;
pretending , that all that was below the *Pyre-*
nean Mountains , belonged to the Realm of
France. They knew how justly to oppose a-
gainst him the Estates of the Country; and the
King durst not too much pursue this subject,
for fear lest despair should force them to call
the *Spaniards* to their assistance : but he still
remained troublesome to them ; and giving
to *Anthony* the Government of *Guyenne*, which
had been likewise held by *Henry d' Albret* his
Father-in-law , he retrenched him of *Lan-*
guedoc, which he had a long time enjoyed.

About two years after , they returned to 1557.
the Court of *France* , whither they brought 1558.
their Son, aged about four or five years ; who
was the most jolly and best-composed Lad in
the world : but they stayed but few moneths,
and returned again to *Bearn*.

A little after , King *Henry* the second was 1559.
slain with a blow of a Lance by *Montgomery*. Death of
Francis the second, his eldest Son, succeeded King *Henry*
him ; and *Messieurs de Guise* , Uncles to *Mary* the second
Stuart his Queen , seized themselves of the *Francis 2.*
Government. The Princes of the Blood succeas.
could not suffer it ; and therefore *Lewis* ,
Prince of *Condé* , younger Brother to *Antbo-*
ny, called that King into the Court to oppose
it.

C

During

Part I.
Divisions
at Court.
1560.

Death of
Francis 2.

Charles 9.
succeeds.
Queen Katherine
declared Re-
gent, and
the King of
Navarre
Lieute-
nant-Ge-
neral of
the Realm.

1562.

He is kil-
led before
Rouen.

1562.

During these Divisions, the *Hugonots* contrived the Conspiracy of *Amboise* against the present Government: and the two Brothers, *Anthony* and *Lewis*, being accused for the Chiefs of it, were arrested Prisoners in the State of *Orleanse*; and processes made so hotly against the second, that it was believed he would have been beheaded, if the Death of King *Francis* the second had not happened.

Charles the ninth who succeeded him, being under age, Queen *Katherine* his Mother caused her self to be declared Regent of the Estates; and the King of *Navarre*, first Prince of the Blood, was declared Lieutenant-General of the Realm, to govern the Estate with her: so that by this means he was stay'd in *France*, whither he caused his Queen *Jane*, and his young Son Prince *Henry*, to come. But he enjoyed not long this new Dignity; for the Troubles daily continuing, by reason of the Surprizes which the new Reformers made of the best Cities of the Kingdome, after having re-taken *Bourges* from them, he came to besiege *Rouen*; where visiting one day the Trenches, as he was making water, he received a Musket-shot in his left shoulder; of which he in few days died at *Andely* on the *Siene*. Had he lived longer, the *Hugonots* had without doubt been but ill treated in *France*; for he mortally hated them, though his Brother, the Prince of *Condé*, were the principal Chief of their party.

The

The Queen his wife, and the little Prince Part I.
his son, were at present in the Court of France. The Queen
The mother returned to Bearn, where she his wife re-
publickly embraced Calvinism: but she left turns to
her son with the King, under the conduct of a Bearn, and
wife Tutor, named *la Gaucherie*, who embraces Calvinism
endeavoured to give him some tincture of Learning,
not by the Rules of Grammar, but by Dis-
courses and Entertainments. To this effect
he taught him by heart many fair Sentences
like to these:

On vaincre avec Justice,

On Mourir avec Gloire.

Or justly gain the Victory,

Or learn with Glory how to die.

And that other;

*Les Princes sur leur Peuple ont autorité
grande,*

*Mais Dieu plus fortement dessus les Rois
commande.*

*Kings rule their Subjects with a mighty
band;*

*But God with greater power doth Kings com-
mand.*

In the year 1566. his mother took him 1566.
from the Court of France, and led him to She tak
Pau; and in the place of *la Gaucherie*, who her son

Part I.
from the
Court, and
gives him
a Master
instructs
him in all
Doctrine.

was deceased, she gave him *Florentius Christi-*
an, an ancient servant of the house of *Ven-*
dosme; a man of a very agreeable conversati-
on, and well versed in Learning; but howe-
ver a *Hugonot*, and who, according to the or-
ders of the Queen, instructed the Prince in
that false Doctrine.

1567.
Henry
Prince of
Navarre,
declared
chief of the
Religion.

In the first troubles of the Religion, *Francis*
Duke of *Guise* had been assassinated by *Poltrou*
at the Siege of *Orleanse*, leaving his children
in minority: this was in the year 1563. In
the second, the Constable of *Montmorency* re-
ceived a wound at the battle of *St. Dennis*; of
which he died at *Paris*, three days after the
Eve of *St. Martin*, in the year 1567. In the
third, and in the year 1569, Queen *Jane* ren-
dered her self Protectress of the *Hugonot* par-
ty; being for this effect come to *Rochel* with
her son, whom she now devoted to the De-
fence of that new Religion.

1569.
Louys
Prince of
Condé his
Uncle, his
Lieutenant
with Admi-
ral *Coligny*.
A judici-
ous action,
when yet
an infant.
b This Duke
of Anjou
was King
after Hen.³

In this quality he was declared Chief, and
his Uncle the Prince of *Condé* his Lieutenant in
colleague with the Admiral of *Coligny*. These
were two great Chieftains, but they commit-
ted notable errors; and this young Prince,
though not exceeding thirteen years of age,
had the spirit to observe them. For he judg-
ed well at the great skirmish of *London*, that if
the Duke of *Anjou*(b) had had troops ready to
assault them, he had done it; and that not
doing it, he was without doubt in an ill e-
state, and therefore should the rather have
been assaulted by them: but they, by not
doing

doing it, gave time to all his troops to ar- Part I,
rive.

At the battle of *Farnac*, he represented to them yet more judiciously, that there was no means to fight, because the forces of the Princes were dispersed, and those of the Duke of *Anjou* firmly imbodyed: but they were engaged too far to be able to retreat. The Prince of *Condé* was killed in this battle, or rather assassinated in cold blood after the Combat, in which he had had his Leg broken. Another action very judicious at the battle of *Farnac*.

Lewis Prince of *Condé* slain

After that, all the authority and belief of the Party remained in the Admiral *Coligny*, who, to speak truth, was the greatest man of that time of the Religion he took part with, but the most unfortunate. After his death, the Admiral commands all.

This Admiral having gathered together new forces, hazarded a second battle at *Montcontour* in *Poitou*: he had caused to come to the Army our little Prince of *Navarre*, and the young Prince of *Condé*, who was likewise named *Henry*; and gave them in charge to Prince *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, who guarded them on a Hill little distant with four thousand horse. He hazards the battle of *Montcontour*.

The young Prince burned with desire to engage in person, but they permitted him not to run so great a hazard: nevertheless when the Avant-Guard of the Duke of *Alençon* was disordered by that of the Admiral, there had been no danger to let him fall upon the Enemies, who were much astonished. However they hindered him, and he now cried out, Our Prince impatient to engage, but hindered.

Part I.
Gives
marks of
his judge-
ment.

1570.

He with
the Admi-
ral conti-
nues the
War.

We shall loose our advantage, and by consequence the battle. It arrived as he had foreseen ; and it was at that hour judged by some , that a young man of sixteen years of age, had more understanding then the old Souldiers. " Thus he applyed himself entirely to what he did ; nor had he onely a Body , but a Spirit and Judgement apt.

Being saved with the remnants of his Army , he made almost a turn round the Kingdome, fighting in retreat , and rallying together the *Hugonots* troops here and there for five or six moneths ; during which, he suffered so much travel , that had he not been elevated in that manner he was, he could not have been able to resist it.

This young Prince always accompanied with the Admiral, led his troops into *Guyenne*, and from thence through *Languedoc* , where he took *Nismes* by stratagem , forced several small places , and burned the suburbs of *Toulonse* in such manner , that the sparkles of that fire flew into that great City. The War being thus kindled in the heart of *France* , he shewed himself on the other bank of the *Rhone* with his troops, gained by storms the City of *St. Julien* and *St. Just* , and obliged *St. Estienne en Forez* to capitulate. From thence he descended to the banks of the *Saone* , and afterwards into the middle of *Burgongne*. *Paris* trembled the second time at the approach of an Army so much the more formidable , because it seemed to be re-inforced by the loss of

two battles, and to have now gained some advantage over that of the Catholicks which the Marshal *de Cossé* commanded. Part I.

The Counsel of the King fearing to hazard all by a fourth Encounter, judged it more to the purpose to plaister up a peace with that party: it was therefore treated of, the two Armies being near each other, and concluded in the little City of *Arnay-le-Duc*, on the eleventh of *August*. The peace of *Arnay-le-Duc*.

This Peace made every one retire home; the Prince of *Navarre* went to *Bearn*. King *Charles* the ninth married with *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian* the second; and nothing else seemed thought of, but Feasts and Rejoycings. In the mean time, the King having found that he could never compass his Desires on the *Hugonots* by force, resolved to make use of means more easie, but much more wicked: he began to caress them, to feign that he would treat them favourably, to accord them the greatest part of those things they desired, and to lull them asleep with hopes of his making War against the King of *Spain* in the Low-Countries; a thing they passionately desired: and the better to allure them, he promised as a gage of his faith, to marry his Sister *Margaret* to our *Henry*; and by these means drew the principal Chiefs of their party to *Paris*. 1571.

His mother *Jane*, who was come before to Death of make preparations for the marriage, died a few days after her arrival: a Princess of a Spirit. *Jane d'Albret*.

Part I.

rit and Courage above her Sex, and whose Soul wholly virile, was not subject to the weakneses and defaults of other women; but in truth, a passionate Enemy of the Catholick Religion. Some Historians say that she was poisoned with a pair of perfumed Gloves, because they feared that she having a great spirit, would discover the designe they had to massacre all the *Hugonots*: but if I be not deceived, this is a falsity; it being more likely which others say, that she died of a Tifick; since those that were about her, and served her, have so testified.

Her son
takes the
quality of
King of
Navarre.

He marries
the King of
France his
sister.

Henry her Son, who came after her, being in *Poition*, received news of her death, and presently took the Quality of King: for hitherto he had onely born that of Prince of *Navarre*. So soon as he came to *Paris*, the unhappy Nuptials were celebrated; the two parties being espoused by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, on a scaffold erected for that purpose before the Church of *Nostre-Dame*.

Massacre of
St Bartho-
lomew.

Six days after, which was the day of *St. Bartholomew*, all the *Hugonots* which were come to the solemnity, had their throats cut; amongst others, the Admiral, and twenty other Lords of remark; twelve hundred Gentlemen; three or four thousand Souldiers and Burgeses; and through all the Cities of the Kingdome, after the example of *Paris*, near an hundred thousand men. "Execrable action! which never had, nor ever shall again, if it please God, finde its parallel.

What

What grief must it needs be to our young King, to see in stead of Wine and Perfumes, so much Blood shed at his Nuptials, his best friends murdered; and hear their pitiful cries, which pierced his ears into the *Louvre* where he was lodged? And moreover, what trances and fears must needs surprize his very Person? for in effect it was consulted whether they should murder him and the Prince of *Condé* with the rest; and all the murderers concluded on their death: nevertheless, by a miracle, they after resolved to spare them.

Charles the ninth caused them to be brought to his presence; and having shewed them a mountain of dead bodies, with horrible threats, not hearkning to their reasons, told them, *Either Death or the Mass*. They elected rather the last then the first, and abjured Calvinism: but because it was known they did it not heartily, they were so straitly observed, that they could not escape the Court during those two years that *Charles* the ninth lived, nor a long time after his death.

During this time, our *Henry* exquisitely dissembled his discontents, though they were very great; and notwithstanding those vexations which might trouble his spirit, he clothed his visage with a perpetual serenity, and humour wholly jolly. This was without doubt the most difficult passage of his Life: he had to do with a furious King, and with his two Brothers, to wit, the Duke of *Anjou*, a dissembling Prince, and who had been educated

Part I.

The grief and fear of our young King.

He is constrained to turn Catholic.

1572

His great dangers & troubles at Court.

Part I.

cated in massacres; and with the Duke of *Alençon*, who was deceitful and malicious; with *Queen Katherine*, who mortally hated him, because her Divines had foretold his reign: and in fine, with the house of *Guise*, whose puissance and credit was at present almost boundless.

His wife
& prudent
conduct.

He was doubtless necessitated to act with a marvellous prudence in the conduct of himself with all these people; that he might not create in them the least jealousy, but rather begget a great esteem of himself; make submission and gravity accord, and conserve his Dignity and Life: in the mean time he dis-engaged himself from all these difficulties, and from all these dangers, with an unparallel'd address.

He contracts
friendship
with the
Duke of
Guise.

He contracted a great familiarity with the Duke of *Guise*, who was about his own age; and they often made secret parties of pleasure together: but he agreed not so well with the Duke of *Alençon*, who had a capritious spirit; nor was he over-much troubled at his ill accord with him, because neither the King nor *Queen-mother* had any affection for this Duke. However, he gave no credit to the ill counsel of that *Queens* Emissaries, who endeavoured to engage his contending in Duel against him; so much the rather, because that he considering him as the brother of his King, to whom he ought respect, he knew well it would have proved his loss, and that she would not have been wanting to take so fair a pretext to ruine him.

He shuns
contention
with Duke
of *Alençon*;

He

He shunned likewise other snares laid for him, but yet not all: for he suffered himself to be overtaken with the allurements of some Ladies of the Court; whom it is said that Queen served her self expressly of, to amuse the Princes and Nobles, and to discover all their thoughts.

From that time, ("for Vices contracted in the blossome of youth, generally accompany men to their tomb") a passion for women was the greatest feebleness and weakness of our Henry; and possibly the cause of his last misfortune: for God punisheth sooner or later those who wickedly abandon themselves to this criminal passion.

Besides this, he contracted no other crimes in this Court; and it ought to be attributed to a particular grace of Heaven, that he was not infected with all; for there was never any more vicious nor more corrupted. Impiety, Atheism, Witchcraft, all most horrible wickedness, black ingratitude and perfidiousness, poisoning and assassination, reigning there in a sovereign degree: yet all these abominations, instead of infecting him, fortified him in the natural horror he had against them; and, though amongst wicked persons, he had never any thoughts to become their Companion, but many to be their Enemy.

On St. Bartholomews-day succeeding, they would finish to exterminate the Hugonots; and to this purpose the Duke of Anjou went to be- siege Rochel, carrying him with him; but

Part I.
but let's
himself be
overcome
by the
beauty of
Ladies:

which was
his greatest
weakness.

1572.

He fell not
into any o-
ther of the
horrible
Vices of
the Court.

1573.

The Duke
of Anjou
besieges
Rochel, and

caused

Part I.
carries the
King with
him.

The siege
raised, by
the election
of Duke
of Anjou to
the King-
dome of
Poland.

1574.
Charles 9.
falls mor-
tally sick
at Bois de
Vincennes.

A league
made at
Court, into
which Hen-
ry enters,

The
Queen-
mother dis-
covering it,
causes him
& the Duke
of Alençon, &c
to be ar-
rested;

caused him to be so well observed, that he could neither evade to the right hand nor the left. It may be judged what heart-grief it was to him to be made an instrument in the destruction of those which yet remained his friends and servants, and had refuged themselves in this City. After a long siege, it was relieved by the arrival of the Ambassadors of Poland, who came to seek the Duke of Anjou, whom the Estates of that Country had elected their King.

Some moneths afterwards, Charles the ninth fell mortally sick, vomiting forth blood through all the conduits of his body; so that by many it was believed he was empoisoned: but however it were, it may justly be said, (if it be permitted to judge of Kings, who ought to be judged by none but God) That it was a Divine punishment for his blasphemies.

His extream malady gave birth to a league made by the Duke of Alençon, the Marshals of Montmorency and Cossé, and some Catholicks, with the Hugonot party, to deprive the Queen-mother of the Government, and drive the Guises from the Court, where they were very puissant. Our Henry entred into it, not out of any designe to oblige himself with those people, but onely that he might have the means to retire with security into his own Country.

The Queen-mother having understood these practices, caused him and the Duke of Alençon to be arrested and committed to Guard. The Prince of Condé saved himself happily in Ger-
many.

many. She caused likewise the two Marshals of *Montmorency* and *Coffé* to be secured; and to let the world see she treated not Princes of their degree in this manner without sufficient cause, she made them be strictly examined, on many treasonable Interrogatories, but which were all false: there were onely put to death, *la Mole*, *Coconas*, and *Tourtray*; three Gentlemen of note, who had engaged themselves in their intrigues: and possibly this execution was necessary to calm the spirit of the Nobility and People, who began to murmur, that a son of *France*, and the first Prince of the blood, should be treated in this manner.

and *la Mole*,
Coconas, &
Tourtray, to
be put to
death.

In this affair, the Chancellour would have examined the King of *Navarre*: but though captive and threatned, he would not so much wrong his Dignity as to reply to him. However, to content the Queen-mother, he made a long discourse, addressing his speech to her; by which he declared many things touching the present estate of affairs, but charged no person, as the Duke of *Alençon* had weakly and unworthily done.

The Chan-
cellour
would ex-
amine the
King of
Navarre.

King *Charles* the ninth being near his death, and hating possibly not without reason both his two brothers, and his mother, sent to seek our *Henry*, in whom alone he acknowledged to have found faith and honour; and most affectionately recommended to him his wife and his daughter.

Charles 9,
near his
death,
sends for
him.

Katherine

Part I.

1574.

Queen Katherine alarm'd, would af- fright him.

Katherine de Medicis, knowing that he had sent for him, was fearful lest he should leave to him the Regency; and to this purpose would cast some fear into his soul, to the end he should not dare to accept it. As he went to attend the King, who was at *Bois de Vincennes*, she gave order he should be made pass under the Arches, between the Guards, who lay in ambush and posture to massacre him. He startled at first with fear, and recoiled two or three paces backwards: however, *Nanzay de Chastre*, Captain of the Life-guards, reassured him, swearing to him he should receive no prejudice; he was therefore constrained, though he trusted but little to his words, to pass through the Carabines and Halberds.

After the death of Charles 9. she seized on the Regency.

The two Princes set at liberty.

After the death of *Charles the ninth*, *Katherine de Medicis*, partly by force, and partly by cunning, seized on the Regency, expecting the return of her dear Son the Duke of *Anjou*, who was named *Henry the third*.

When he was returned from *Poland*, she brought the two Princes before him, to do with them what he pleased; whom after some chidings and threatnings, he set at liberty.

These two Princes making reflection on the continual dangers they had for two years past been in, resolved with the first occasion to deliver themselves from these fears. The Prince of *Condé*, who was in *Germany*, had raised Levies for the *Hugonot* party; who, about the

The Prince of Condé was in Germany.

end

end of the reign of *Charles* the ninth, had re- Part I,
taken Arms: and *Damville*, second son to *du*
Fen Constable, and brother of the Marshal of
Montmorency, who was a prisoner in the *Bas-*
tile, had joyned himself to their party; not
taking Religion for his pretext, (because he
was a Catholick) but the publick Liberty, and
Reformation of the State. This sort of Ca-
tholicks who joyned themselves in league with
the *Hugonots*, were named *The Politicians*.

Our *Henry* could not escape from the
Court so soon as he desired: he was diligent-
ly watched, and his very *Domesticks* were as
so many spies over him. He well understood,
that if he were surprized whilst he endeavour-
ed to save himself, he should certainly be
murthered; and now whilst he sought occasi-
ons to do it with security, he engaged him-
self in new snares; becoming passionate of *la*
Dame de Sauves, wife to a Secretary of State,
and at present the fairest in the whole Court. The King
of Navarre
cannot e-
scape as he
desires.

In the mean time the Queen-mother, who
with so much diligence kept him at Court,
could have been well contented he had been
gone. For the King her dear Son, began to
take some knowledge of his own affairs; a
thing much displeasing to her, because she
would have governed all; she therefore ap-
prehending, that as he took the Authority in-
to his own hands, hers would be diminished;
believed that she ought to embroile all by fa-
ctions and civil wars; of which she alone, as it
may be said, had the Key, so that nothing
could The
Queen-
mother al-
luminates
all the fa-
ctions and
civil wars.

Part I. could pass without her. See here the reason wherefore so long as she lived she did understand nothing but suscite troubles, and animate different parties both at Court and abroad; that in the end, after having caused the desolation of the Estate, and the subversion of all Laws and all Orders, she might herself perish in those flames which she had kindled, and supplied with so much fuel.

1575.
Conspiracy
against
Henry 3.
who con-
fides in our
Henry.

Amongst these transactions, as the King went to *Rheims* to be enstalled, a conspiracy was discovered against his Person; fostered by the Duke of *Alençon*, at the instigation of the friends of the defunct Admiral, and of *de la Mole*, who had been his favourite: many believed this to be a thing devised by the Queen-mother, of purpose to astonish and weaken the spirit of her Son: and the reason they had to believe it, was, because she obliged the King to pardon this crime so lightly; none either of the Complices or Instigators being punished for it. However it were, *Henry* the third testified in this occasion a particular confidence in our King of *Navarre*; who, assisted by his friends, served him as Captain of his Guards through the whole way, never stirring from the boot of his Coach: and in this appeared so much the more generous; having no reason to love him, beside the obligation of his duty, being his kinsman and his vassal.

Henry the third being arrived at *Rheims*, was on the fifteenth of the month of *February*, installed by the Cardinal of *Guise*; and on the

the motrow espoused to *Louise de Lorrain*, Part I. daughter of the Count of *Vaudemont*; which sed to *Louis de Lorrain*, added yet a great lustre to the house of *Guise*, of which Duke *Henry* was chief, who was at present in favour, though after killed at *Blais*.

This Prince, one of the bravest in all manners, Familiarity between that Age produced, had ever promised himself to govern the King by Queen *Louise* his kinswoman. He had contracted a very strait familiarity with the King of *Navarre*, whom *Guise* and he called his Master; as that King called him his Gossip.

Queen *Margaret*, who, to speak the truth, could not live without Intrigues nor Gallantries, contributed with all her power to the entertainment of this good intelligence, and essayed to make the *Monsieur* (who is he we call Duke d' *Alençon*) enter into it, whom she most passionately loved.

But the union of Princes being the ruine of Favorites, and those that governed the Queen-mother straight broke this designe: begetting in the King a jealousy of his wife; incensing *Monsieur* against the Duke of *Guise*, by the remembrance of the massacre of the Admiral, continually confounding the King of *Navarre* by the intrigue of some Ladies, but particularly of *de Sauves*, who enjoying such person as *Katherine* commanded her, received the love and services of *Monsieur* to create a difference between them.

The Queen-mother entertained likewise an irreconcilable hatred between the King and

D

Mon-

Part I. Monsieur: by which means there arrived an affair which as much proclaimed the greatness of Courage and Generosity of our Henry, as any action he had done in his life.

Henry 3.

falls very sick.

a Francis 2.

dist of an

Aposthume

in his ear,

which was

believed to

come of poi-

son.

The King being fallen sick, and in great danger of death with a pain in his ear, believed himself to be poisoned, as (1) Francis the second had been, and accused Monsieur. In this belief he sent to seek the King of Navarre, and commands him to dispatch Monsieur so soon as he was dead, enforcing himself by all reasons possible, to perswade him that that wicked one would make him perish, and all his, if he prevented it not. The favorites of the King having the same opinion with their Master, seeing Monsieur pass, sacrificed him already to their revenge, by murdering regards.

A noble

and gene-

rous action

of our Hen-

ry.

Our Henry endeavoured to sweeten the fury of the King, and remonstrated to him the horrible consequences of this command: but the King, not content with reasons, contrary to them, imported himself in such manner, that he would he should presently execute it, for fear lest he should fall of it when he were dead.

1575.

If the two brothers, to wit, the King and Monsieur, had been out of the world, the Crown appertained to him. Now one in all appearances was about to die, and he might easily finde a death for the other, having the Favorites, the Officers of the King, the Gaiſe, all their friends, and almost all the Nobility at his devotion: for Monsieur was a Prince of an

ill presence, and of low inclinations, yet magnanimous and cruel; and for all these fair qualities, hated by almost all the world, and sustained onely by the brave *Bussy d'Amboise*. How few Princes are there that would have let slip so fair an occasion! I dare boldly speak it, how few are there would not seek it? and yet our *Hero* (for in such an action I must of force call him so) was so far from prevailing himself of it, that he conceived a horreur at the furious vengeance of Henry the third. "There is no nobler ambition, then to know how to moderate ambition when it is not just; and to endeavour to conserve our conscience and honour, rather then acquist a crown by wicked ways. Demons gained by ill means, are not marks of glory to those fronts that carry them, but rather frontlets of infamy, such as are placed on Thieves and Villains."

Heaven, without doubt, approved the generous sentiments of our Henry, and destined to him the Scepter of the *Flower de Luce*, because guiltless of an impatience to reach it before his degree. On the contrary, these brothers of the house of *Valois*, who endeavoured to ravish it one from the other, died all unhappily, and had him for their successor, who by a crime refused to be so.

Henry the third being recovered, knew well that he had wrongfully accused his brother to have poisoned him; yet he loved him never a whit the more: he dayly suffered his favorites to give him a thousand affronts, and

Part I.

1576.
Monsieur
departs
from Court
and joyns
with the
Hugonots.

Our Henry
could not
soon fol-
low him,
but at
length
saves him-
self at A-
lençon.

to domineer over him in the publick Assemblies. He would likewise cause *Bussy d'Amboise*, who was his favorite and onely support, to be murdered by night at the gates of the *Enivre*; and it was believed he had given order, if the Duke of *Alençon* had gone to his assistance, (for there were people appointed to come and tell him that *Bussy* was assassinated) to slay him likewise. In such manner, that getting the bridle out of his teeth, he escaped from Court, put himself in the field, gathered together some male-contents, composed an Army, and joyned with that of the *Hugonots*, commanded by the Prince of *Condé*, and by *Casimir*, youngest son of the Count *Palatine*; who, in these civil wars of the Religion, twice or thrice led great levies of *German Horse* into France.

Our Henry was puissantly solicited to follow him; and *Monsieur* said he had promised him to do it: but they had taken from about him all those who might favour his escape, and placed in their stead people of their own hire. He was moreover promised the Lieutenant-Generalship of the Kings Army; which was a strong lure to retain him; nor was the love of the *san de Sauver* less powerful. However, the natural spurs of his courage, and the fear he had lest *Monsieur* and the Prince of *Condé* should seize on the chief Command amongst the *Hugonot* party, which had been his Cradle, and was to be his Castle; the remonfrances of some of his servants, and the in-
ventions

ventions of *Queen Katherine*, who expressly Part I.
incensed the King against him, in the end oblig-
ed him to escape, and made him take his re-
solution.

He saved himself therefore by feigning to go on the Chace towards *Senlis*, and retired to *Alençon*; where however he acted nothing, the peace being soon after concluded with them all. There was granted to *Monsieur* a great Portion in money and places; to the *Hugonots* many very advantageous conditions; to the Prince of *Condé* the Government of *Picardy*, and the City of *Peronne*, for his retreat: but to our *Henry* nothing else but hopes; of which being in the end dis-abused; he renounced the peace, re-entred into the *Hugonot* party; and quitting the Catholick Church, returned anew to his first Religion. It is to be believed, that he did it because he was per-
swaded it was the better: thus his fault will be worthy of excuse, nor can he be accused but for not having the true light. In the mean time it must not be forgot to observe on this, that the greatest reproach his enemies ever made him, I mean those of the League, was his having thus relapsed; and this was likewise the greatest obstacle he found at *Rome*, when being converted, he demanded the absolution of the Pope.

The *Rochellers* received him into their City, but not without great Pre-cautions, and not until he had driven from him some people, who were neither *Catholicks* nor *Hugonots*,
He is received into *Rochel*, and after goes into *Guyenne*.

Part I.

but Atheists, and horrible wicked persons. It hath been held, that they followed him against his will; that truly he had served himself of them in some intrigues, but that it was himself who by secret advice obliged the *Rochellers* to demand their expulsion.

The gates of Bourdeaux shut against him.

After he had sojourned some months at *Rebel*, he went to take possession of his Government of *Guyenne*, where he had the displeasure to see shut against him the gates of the City of *Bourdeaux*, under pretext that the inhabitants feared that if he became Master of it, he would banish the Catholick Religion. A very sensible injury to a young Prince full of courage; but he knew most wisely how to dissemble it at present, because he had not power to revenge it; and generously forgot it, when he had the means to do it.

The birth of the League.

About this time the League took birth, that puissant faction, which for twenty years together tormented *France*; which thought to introduce the *Spanish* Domination, and which would have renversed the order of the succession of the Royal family, under the fairest pretext in the world, to wit, the maintenance of the Religion of our Ancestors.

At other times, under the reign of *Charles* the ninth, there were divers Leagues and Associations made in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* to defend the Church against the *Hugonots*, (I leave it to judge whether those who rendred themselves Chief of them, had most Zeal, or most Ambition) but they were not pressed so for-

forward, nor so diligently formed, and therefore became extinct. The Grandees of the Realm however might by them observe, that if at any time such associations were made, it would be a fair means to elevate to a great height him who could render himself their Chief.

Henry Duke of *Guise*, who had a King-like heart, had in all likelihood this thought; or if he at first had it not, the favorites of Henry the third, by persecuting him, forced him to entertain it, and to apply himself to this party, to defend himself against them. There were of his house seven or eight Princes, all brave to the utmost extent. The principal of them were the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Cardinal de *Guise* his brothers, the Duke d' *Aumale*, and the Marquis d' *Elbeuf* his Cousins.

Now the Evasion of *Monsieur*, of which we have spoken, to the *Hugonots*, and the advantageous peace after granted them, made the League show it self, which was but little in its commencement. Those who to render themselves puissant desired a new faction in the State, took this subject to make it be represented by their Emissaries the great danger in which the *Catholick Religion* was, and to remonstrate the excessive puissance of its enemies, who had on their side the two first Princes of the blood, and *Monsieur* who was their friend. What would it be, said they, if he should come to the Crown with such ill intentions? that therefore they ought to advise

Part I.
These Leagues a fair path for the ambitious to rise by.

The Duke of *Guise* makes himself chief of the League.

The War of *Monsieur*, &c his joyning with the *Hugonots*, the cause of the League.

Part II. in good time, and fortifie themselves against that danger which threatned the holy Church. They whispered at present these Considerations, and other like them, into men ears; and when they had disposed their spirits, published them aloud.

The Cities of Picardy begin it, and why. Upon this, the Burgesſes of Peronne, a free City, and which was accustomed to have ſo puiſſant a Governour, reſuſed to receive the Prince of Conde, becauſe a Hugonot. He made his complaints to the King, and demanded the execution of the treaty of peace. The Picards oppoſed him, and were the firſt that made a League or Union for the defence, as they ſaid, of the Calbalick, Apoſtolicke, and Roman Faith. The Prince of Conde could never have reaſon, and was conſtrained to retire into Guyenne.

James Lord d' Humieres, was made Chief of this League in Picardy; and Aplincourt a young Gentleman took the Oath of the Inhabitants of Peronne; by whoſe example the Cities of Amiens, Corbie, St. Quintins, and many others, did the like. Lewis de Tremoville began one likewise in Poitou. The Queen-mother ſecretly favoured this deſigne, to the end ſhe might retain her authority among theſe diſcords and diſturbances. The firſt Model, and the Articles of this League, were brought to Paris; and there were ſome ſo zealous as to carry them from houſe to houſe, endeavouring to engage the moſt backward; but Chriſtopher de Thon, chief preſident

Chriſtopher de Thon hinders its proceſſe at Paris.

HENRY the Great.

dent, hundred for the present the progress of Part I.
this conspiracy.

Those who were the first inventors of it, had deliberated among themselves, that to the end to give it means to aggrandize it self, and to keep the spirits of the people still warm, it was necessary to continue the war with the *Hugonots*; for this purpose, they stirred up divers persons who surprized their places, and committed a thousand affronts against our *Henry* and the Prince of *Condé*. And much more, they raised so many factions and complaints on all sides, of people who demanded the summoning of the Estates, that the King was obliged to agree to it. They assembled then at *Blois*, and began in the month of *December*, in the year 1575. The *Hugonots* themselves were not at all troubled at this Convocation, because they imagined that the third Estate, which ordinarily is the strongest, and which hath most reason to apprehend the war, would cause the peace to be confirmed: but the *Juncto* of those which were for war, was so strong, that it was resolved puissantly to prosecute it.

They judged it notwithstanding convenient to depute before-hand some persons of the Assembly to our *Henry* and to the Prince of *Condé*, to exhort them to return into the bosome of the Catholick Church. And this taking no effect, the King was obliged to declare himself Chief of the League; and so from Sovereign, become Chief of a faction, and enemy to a part of his subjects.

The League obliges the King to call the Estates. They assemble at Blois.

War resolved against the Hugonots.

Henry 3. declares himself chief of the League.

The History of

Part I.

1577.

He raises
three or
four Armies
against the
Hugonots.

The
Queen-
mother ob-
liges him
to grant
them peace.

1578.

She makes
a voyage
to Guyenne,
and carries
with her
her daugh-
ter Marg-
aret.

The King
of Navarre
loses Agen
and la Reole
by two fol-
lies of
youth.

He raised three or four Armies, who made war against the Hugonots in the *Dauphinat*, in *Guyenne*, in *Languedoc*, and in *Poitou*; and reduced, and might have quite crused them, if their ruine had been resolutely prosecuted, in that astonishment wherein he had put them. But the Queen-mother, who onely desired the war, that she might have affairs in agitation, and not that they might have their issue, perswaded the King her son, for certain studied reasons, to grant them peace.

The Treaty being concluded, the Queen-mother made a voyage into *Guyenne*; she feigned that it was to cause it to be punctually executed, and to carry her Daughter *Margaret* to the King of *Navarre* her husband; but it was in effect to sow seeds of Discord among the Hugonots, to the end she might be Mistress of that party as she had been in that of the *Catholicks*. Henry now kept his little Court at *Nérac*: he had before kept it at *Agen*, where he was beloved of the people by reason of his justice and goodness: But it happened, that at a Ball or Dance some young people of his own train blew out the Candles, to commit insolencies; which so scandalized the inhabitants, that they delivered their City to the Marshal of *Byron*, whom the King had sent Governour into the Province of *Guyenne*.

A little time after, Henry likewise lost *la Reole* by another folly of his young people. He had given the Government of it to an old Hugonot Captain named *d'Ussac*, who had his vi-

sage

sage horribly deformed: his deformity how-
 ever hindred him not from becoming passion-
 ate of one of the Ladies attending the Queen-
 mother; for she had brought many of the
 most bewitching with her, to kindle a fire eve-
 ry where. The Viscount of *Turenne*, afterwards
 Duke of *Bouillon*, aged at present about twen-
 ty one or twenty two years, with some others
 of his age, would make Raillery of this busi-
 ness: our *Henry*, instead of commanding them
 silence, made himself of their party; and ha-
 ving a fluent spirit, assisted them in lancing out
 some mocks & jeers against this doting Lover.
 There is no passion renders a heart so sensible
 as this. *Ufac* could not suffer this Raillery,
 though proceeding from his Master; but in
 prejudice of his Honour and Religion, he
 yeilded and delivered up *la Reole* to *Duras*;
 a Lord who having been in favour with our
Henry, had quitted him, out of envy, because
 he testified less affection to him than to *Rogue-
 laire*, who was without doubt one of the most
 honest and most pleasant men of his time.

These two losses of *Agen* and *la Reole*, gave
 him, and ought to give all Princes, two very
 necessary instructions.

“The first, that a Prince ought well to go-
 vern his Courtiers; the rather, because all
 their disorders are imputed to him: and
 “that it is presumed when they do them, that
 “it is himself commits them, because obli-
 “ged to hinder them.

Two ex-
 quisite Re-
 flections.

“The

Part 1.

"The second, that above all things he abstain from Raillery: for there is no Vice which makes so many enemies, nor which is more dangerous, because others may be concealed. Such a word as issuing from the mouth of a particular person, would be accounted but a light jest, is like a stab of a poyard from that of a Prince; and leaves in the heart mortal resentments. Nor must great ones be flattered with this opinion, that their subjects or their inferiours ought to suffer all things from them: for where honour is concerned, the more the person that wounds is superiour, the greater is the wound; as the impression of a body is deeper, the more feet it hath, and the higher it falls.

Queen Margaret did not over-well love her husband, nor he her:

The Queen-mother had taken with her, as we have said, Queen Margaret to her husband. Neither the one nor the other of the two Spouses were over-well content. Margaret, who loved the splendour of the French Court, where she swam, if we may so speak, in full intrigues, believed to be in Guyenne was a kind of banishment: and Henry, knowing her humour and carriage, would rather have chose her room than her company. However, seeing it a remediless ill, he resolved to suffer it; leaving her an intire liberty: he considered her rather as a Sister of his King, then as his Wife. He likewise pretended some nullities in the Marriage, but attended time and place to make

HENRY the Great.

45

make them known. In the mean time, accom-
modating himself to the season, and to the ne-
cessity of his affairs, he endeavoured to draw
advantages from her intrigues, and from her
credit. He received no small one in the con-
ference which he and the Deputies of the *Hu-*
gonots had at *Nerac* with the Queen-mother :
for whilst she thought to enchant them by the
charms of those fair Ladies she had expressly
brought with her, and by the eloquence of *Pi-*
brac ; *Margaret* opposed the same Artifices,
gained the Gentlemen who were near her Mo-
ther, by the attractions of her Ladies; and em-
ployed so well her own, that she enchanted
the spirit and will of the poor *Pibrac* in such
manner, that he acted not but by her motion,
and quite contrary to the intentions of the
Queen-mother, who, not distrusting that a
man so wise could be capable of so great folly,
was deceived in many Articles, and insensibly
carried to grant much more to the *Hugonots*
then she had resolved.

Scarce were eight months spent since the
peace, but the Queen-mother, *Monsieur* and
the *Guises*, began to be weary of it. The
Queen-mother, because she would not have the
King rest any long time without having need of
her Negotiations and intermission; *Monsieur*,
because by re-kindling the War, he thought
to render himself redoubtable to the King,
and to make him give him forces to carry into
the Low-Countries; which being revolted
from *Spain*, demanded him for their Sovereign:
And

Part I.

And in fine, the *Gaiser*, because they feared lest the ardour of the League should by too long a calm, grow cold.

1579.

They under-hand
perswade
the King of
Navarre to
a Rupture;

In these wishes, they pressed the King to redemand the places of security granted to the *Hugonots*; and under-hand *Monsieur* and the Queen-mother caused it to be told to our *Henry*, that he should not surrender them, but hold it out that his cause was just, and that his safety consisted in his Arms. *Margaret*, who knew his weakness, and who likewise wish'd the War, excited him by the perswasion of Ladies whom she fostered to this designe; and by the same means animated alike all those braves who approached her; nor spared she her self with the Viscount of *Turenne* for this purpose: so that this Prince, possibly with very little justice, and certainly to very ill purpose, was carried to a rupture, and engaged the *Hugonots* in a new Civil War, which was named for the reasons I but now spake of, *The War of the Loovers*.

which
proves ve-
ry disad-
vantagious
to him.

which
proves
the peace.

This was the most disadvantageous they ever yet made: by it they lost a great quantity of strong places; and were in such manner weakened, that had the pursuit of them been finished, they could never have regained strength. But *Monsieur*, who desired to transport all the forces both of the one and the other party into the Low-Countries, made himself Mediator of the peace, and obtained it by an Edict, which was concluded after the Conference of *Fleix*.

This

HENRY the Great.

47

This peace was the cause of almost as many evils to the Estate, as all the former Wars had been. The two Courts of the two Kings, and the two Kings themselves, plunged themselves in their pleasures, with this difference however, that our Henry was not so absolutely lul'd asleep with his delights; but he thought sometimes of his affairs, being awakened and lively reminded by the Remonstrances of the Ministers of his Religion, and by the reproaches of the old Captains of the Hugonots, who spoke to him with great liberty. But Henry the third was wholly overwhelmed with softness and feebleness; he seemed to have neither heart nor motion: and his subjects could scarce know that he was in the world; but because he daily charged them with new Imposts; all the money of which, was disposed to the benefit of his Favorites.

Part I.
Of much damage to the Estate, being the cause the two Henries plunged themselves in pleasure

He had always three or four at a time; and at present he began to cast his graces on Joyeuse, and the two Nogarets; to wit, Bernard and Jean-Louis, of whom the eldest died five or six years after, and the youngest was Duke d'Espernon; one of the most memorable and most wonderful Subjects that the Court had ever seen elevated in its favour; and who certainly had qualities as eminent as his fortune. In the mean time, the excessive gifts which the King gave to all his favorites, excited the cries of the people, because they were trampled on; and their monstrous greatness displeased the Princes, because they believed

Disposi-
one to the
I came
the lot
Henry
hath favo-
rites, who
prejudice
his affairs;

+ 214

Part I.

lied themselves despised; in such manner, that they rendered themselves odious to all the world: and the hate carried to them, fell likewise upon the King, whilst that violence which they obliged him to use towards his Parliaments, to confirm his Edicts of Creation and Imposts, augmented it yet more: for if his Authority made his Wills pass as absolute, he drew the peoples curses; and if the vigour of the Sovereign companies, as often happened, stopt them, he attracted their disdain.

The people who easily licentiate themselves to Rebellion against their Prince; when they have lost for him all sentiments of esteem and veneration, spoke strange things of him and his favorites. The *Guises*, (whom the Mimons (for so the favorites were called) opposed in all occasions, endeavouring to deprive them of their Charges and Governments, to re-invest themselves) were not wanting to blow the fire, and to increase the animosities of the people; particularly of the great Cities, whom favorites have always feared, and who have always hated favorites. These were the principal Dispositions to the aggrandizing the League, and to the loss of *Henry the third*.

1584. It is not to our purpose to recount here all the intrigues of the Court during five or six years; nor the War of the Low-Countries, from which *Monsieur* (a) brought nothing but surprise Antwerp, and treating ill the people of the Low-Countries, who had called him, was driven thence.

a Monsieur
intending to
surprise Antwerp, and treating ill the people of the Low-Countries, who
had called him, was driven thence.

but disgrace. It is onely necessary to tell, Part I.
 that in the year 1684. *Monsieur* died at *Castle-* The death
Thierry, without having been married; that of the
Henry the third had likewise no Children; and *Monsieur*
 that it was but too well known he was unca- begets
 pable of ever having any, by reason of an thoughts
 uncurable disease which he contracted at *Ve-* of a Suc-
niee, in his return from *Poland*. See here the cessor to
 reason why, as soon as *Monsieur* was judged the Crown.
 to death by the Physicians, the *Guises* and
 Queen-Mother began to labour each on their
 side to assure themselves of the Crown, as if
 the succession had been open to them: for
 neither the one nor the other accounted for
 any thing our *Henry*; so much the rather, be-
 cause he was beyond the seventh degree, be-
 yond which in ordinary successions is accoun-
 ted no kindred; and because he was not of
 that Religion, of which all the Kings of
France have been since *Clouis*, and by conse-
 quence incapable to wear the Crown, or bear
 the Title of *Thrice-Christian*. Adde to this
 that he was two hundred Leagues distant from
Paris, and as it were shut up in a corner of
Guyenne, where it seem'd to them easie to
 ensnare him or oppress him.

The Queen-Mother had a design to give the The
 Crown to the Children of her Daughter Queen-
 married to the Duke of *Lorrain*, whom she Mother
 would have treated as Princes of the bloud, designs to
 as if the Crown of *France* could fall under the give the
 command of the Spindle. Nor was she carried Crown to
 to this onely out of the love she had for them, the chil-
 dren of her
 daughter
 married to
 the Duke
 but of *Lorrain*,

Part I. but out of a secret hatred she had conceived against our *Henry*, because she saw that contrary to all her wishes, heaven opened him a way to come to the Throne.

A belief
that the
Duke of
Guise ho-
ped to
Reign
himself.

Besides, she was too much deceived, for so able a woman, to believe that the Duke of *Guise* would favour her in her design: there was much appearance, and after affaires sufficiently testified it, that seeing himself persecuted by the Favorites, and ill treated by the King himself, for their sakes he had thoughts to assure the Crown for his own head. "*For ill treatments work at least no other effect then to cast into extreme despaire, Souls so Noble and Elevated as that of this Prince.* But he knowing well that of himself he could not arrive at so high a pitch, and that specially because it would be difficult to divert the affection which the people of *France* naturally have for the Princes of the *Bloud*; he advised himself to gain the old Cardinal de *Bourbon*, who was Uncle of our *Henry*: he promised him therefore, that the death of *Henry* the third Arriving, he would employ all his power, and that of his Friends, to make him King: and that good man doting with age, permitting himself to be flattered with these vain hopes, made himself the Bauble of the Dukes Ambition, who by this means drew to his party a great number of Catholiques, who considered the house of *Bourbon*.

The Question was, if the Uncle ought to precede

precede the Son of the Elder Brother in the Part I.
 Succession: and to speak truth, the business
 was not without some difficulty, because ac-
 cording to the Custome of *Paris*, the Capital
 of the Realm, and many other Customs, col-
 lateral representation hath no place. This
 point of right was diversly agitated by the
 Reverend Judges; and many treats were
 had, some in favour of the Uncle, and others
 of the Nephew: but these were but Combats
 of words; the sword was to decide the diffe-
 rence. It seemed to many great Politicians,
 that the Duke of *Guise* acted contrary to
 his own interests and design, by acknowledge-
 ing that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ought to
 Succeed to the Crown; this being to avow,
 that after his death, which could suffer no
 long delay, it would appertain to our Henry
 his Nephew.

Henry 3. knew well his design, or rather
 was advertised of it by his Favorites, who saw
 in it their certain ruine, and therefore so
 much desired to bring back the King of
Navarre to the *Catholique* Church, to the
 end he might deprive the *Leaguers* of that
 specious Pretext they had to entertain the
League: He sent therefore to him the Duke
d'Espernon, who Essayed to Convert him by
 reasons of interest and policy. Our Henry
 hearkened to him; but he testified that those
 were not motives sufficiently puissant to make
 him Change; and sent him back with many
 Civilities.

Henry 3.
 knew his
 design, or
 was adver-
 tized of it
 by his
 favorites.
 He sends
 the Duke
d'Espernon
 to the
 King of
Navarre,
 to oblige
 him to re-
 turn to the
 Catholick
 Church:
 but he re-
 fuses.

Part I.

The Duke
of Guise
profits
himself
of it.

The *Hugonots* were so vain, as to publish and cause to be Printed the conference of this Prince with *Espernon*, to shew that he was unshaken in his Religion, and possibly likewise to engage him more strongly in it. The Duke of *Guise* was not wanting to profit himself of it, and to remonstrate to the Catholique people the stubbornness of this Prince; and what they might hope, if he came to the Crown with such sentiments.

The
League
Establish-
ed at *Paris*.

To stop therefore his way to it, he made the zealous openly renew the League; and boldly bringing it into *Paris*, where some new religious persons inspired this Ardour into peoples souls by Confessions, held the first publique Assembly at the Colledge de *Fortet*, which was called the *Cradle of the League*. Many Burgeses, many Tradesmen, and likewise some Clerks of *Paris*, entred into it. They carried it to *Rome*, and presented it to Pope *Gregory* the 13. for his approbation; but he never would give it: and continually, so long as he lived, disavowed it.

The Pope
disap-
proves it.

So soon as it grew a little great and strong, those who had engendred it, made it appear that it was not only to provide for the security of Religion for the future, but that at present they might approach themselves neer to the Crown; and that they not onely would have it against the King of *Navarre*, who was to Succeed, but against *Henry* the third, who now reigned: They kept in Salary certain new Divines, who durst openly sustain, that a Prince

It is turn-
ed against
Henry the
third.

Prince ought to be deposed who acquits himself not well of his duty: "That no power
"but that which is well ordered, is of God;
"otherwise, when it passes due bounds, it
"is not Authority, but Usurpation: and that
"it is as absurd to say that he ought to be
"King who knows not how to govern, or
"who is deprived of understanding, as to
"believe a blind man a fit guide, or an im-
"moveable Statue able to make living men
"move.

In the mean time the Duke of *Guise* was retired to his Government of *Champagne*, feigning himself discontented; but it was to make the Duke of *Lorraine* sign the League, out of hopes he would cause his Son to Succeed to the Crown, to which he pretended to have right by his Mother, Daughter to *Henry the Second*. He held to this purpose a Treaty at *Foinville*, where he likewise found Agents from the King of *Spain*, who signed to the Treaty, and as it was reported, did by Letters of Exchange supply the Duke of *Guise* with great sums of money.

The Treaty of *Foinville* where the Spaniards enter into the League,

At his departure thence, the Duke assembled Troops on all sides: his friends seized on as many places as they could, not onely amongst the *Hugonots*, but likewise amongst the *Catholiques*. The King might easily have dissipated these Levies, had he taken the field.

& furnish money. The League seize many places.

But the Queen-Mother, like to self-interested Physicians, who would for their profit augment the disease, withheld and

Part I.

The Queen-mother enters into conference with *Guise*; who breaks it when he sees himself in an Estate to fear nothing.

The King astonished, grants him all he desires.

1585.

Pope *Sixtus* 5. excommunicates the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*.

amused him in his Closet, perswading him that if he would leave to her the management of this affair, she would easily reduce the Duke to his obedience. To this purpose she held a Conference with him at *Vitry*, and so gave him time to strengthen his party; and when he saw himself in an Estate to fear nothing, he broke the Conference, and made shew of some resolutions to come directly to *Paris*.

The King astonished, prayed his mother to conclude an accommodation upon any terms: which she did by the Treaty of *Nemours*, by which she granted to the Duke and other Princes of his house, the Government of several Provinces, many great sums of money, together with a most bloody Edict against the *Hugonots*, which forbade the profession of any other Religion then the *Catholique*, under Penalty of Confiscation of Goods and Estate; with Command to all Preachers and Ministers to depart the Realm within one moneth, and all *Hugonots* of what degree or quality soever within six months, or otherwise abjure their false Religion. This Edict was called the Edict of *Fuillet*, which the League farther constrained the King to carry himself into the Parliament, and cause it to be ratified.

A little after arrived news from *Rome* that *Sixtus* the fifth, who succeeded *Gregory* the eighteenth, had approved the League, and had besides fulminated out terrible Bulls against the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*,

Comde, declaring them Hereticks, Apostates, Part I.
 Chiefs, Favourers and Protectors of Hereticks, and as such falling under the Censures and Pains concluded on in the Laws and Canons, depriving them and their descendants of all Lands and Dignities, incapable to succeed to any Principality whatsoever, especially to the Kingdome of *France*; and not onely absolving their Subjects from all Oaths of Fidelity, but absolutely forbidding them to obey them.

It was now that our *Henry* had need of all the forces both of his Courage and Vertue to sustain so rude assaults. He seemed in a manner lull'd asleep by his pleasures: when the noise of these great assaults awakened him, he recalled all his Vertue, and began to make it appear more vigorously then ever before. And certainly he afterwards avowed that his enemies had highly obliged him, by persecuting him in this manner: for had they left him in repose, that rest had possibly Entomb'd him in a corner of *Guyenne*, and he not have been constrained to think of his affairs; so that at the death of *Henry* the third, he would not have been in an Estate to attempt or entertain the Crown.

The vertue
 of our *Henry*
 awa-
 ked.

He now did two Actions of great renown: He doth the first, was his commanding *Plessis Mornay*, a Gentleman of excellent Education, and who could be reproached with nothing but being a *Hugonot*, to answer the *Manifesto* of the League by an Apologie, and by a Declaration

two noble
 actions.

Part I.

He defies
the Duke
of Guise to
single
Combat.

tion which he caused to be drawn. In this last piece, (the Chiefs of the League having spread abroad divers calumnies against his honour) he with all submission besought the King his Sovereign, that he would not be offended if he did pronounce, saving still the respect due to his Majesty, that they did falsely and maliciously lye: and moreover, that to spare the blood of his Nobles, and shun the desolation of the poor people, those infinite disorders, and above all, those blasphemies, burnings and violations which the license of War must cause, he offered to the Duke of *Guise*, chief of the League, to decide this quarrel by his person against his, one to one, two to two, ten to ten, or what number he should please, with Arms generally in use by Cavaleers of honour, either in the Realm of *France*, or in such place as his Majesty should command, or else in such place as the Duke of *Guise* himself should chuse.

This Declaration had a great effect o'er peoples spirit. They said, That force could not justly be employed against him, who so far submitted himself to reason: and the greatest part of the Nobility approved this generous procedure; and proclaimed aloud, that the Duke of *Guise* ought not to refuse so great an honour.

Why the
Duke of
Guise ac-
cepted not
the defi-
ance.

That Duke wanted no courage to accept the Defiance; but he considered, that drawing his sword against a Prince of the blood, was in *France* accounted a kinde of Parricide; that otherwise he could willingly have reduced the

the cause of Religion, and of the Publick, to Part I. a particular Quarrel. He therefore prudently answered, That he esteemed the person of the King of *Navarre*, and would have no controversy with him; but that he onely interested himself for the Catholick Religion, which was threatned; and for the tranquillity of the Kingdome, which onely and absolutely depended on the unity of Religion.

His other Action was thus. Having understood the noise of those paper-Thunder-bolts which the Pope had thrown out against him, he dispatched one to the King to make his Complaints to him; and to remonstrate to him, That this procedure concerned his Majesty nearer then himself; That he ought to judge, That if the Pope took upon him to decide concerning his succession, and should seize to himself a right to declare a Prince of the blood unable of the Crown, he might afterwards well pass further, and dethrone himself, as *Zachary* is reported to have formerly degraded *Childeric* 3.

The other
gallant Action of our
Henry.

Upon these Remonstrances, the King hindered the publication of those Bulls in his Dominions. But our *Henry*, not contenting himself therewith, knowing himself to have friends at *Rome*, proved so hardy as to fix his and the Prince of *Condé* his opposition at the corners of the chiefest streets of the City: by which those Princes appealed from the sentence of *Sixtus*, to the Court of Peerage of *France*; giving the Lye to whoever accused them of

He causes
to be fixed
up at the
corners of
the chief
streets of
Rome, op-
positions to
the sen-
tence of
the *Sixtus* 5.

Part I.

the crime of Heresie; offering to prove the contrary in a general Council: and in the end, professing that they would revenge upon him, and upon all his successours, the injury done their King, the Royal Family, and all the Courts of Parliament.

who at first
is incensed,
but after-
wards con-
ceives a
great re-
spect for
him.

It could not but be supposed, that this opinion would incense to the utmost the spirit of *Sixtus* the fifth; and indeed at first he testified a very furious emotion. However, when his Choler was a little asswaged, he admired the great Courage of that King, who at such a distance had known how to revenge himself, and fix the marks of his resentment even at the gates of his Palace: in such manner, that he conceived so great an esteem for him, (so true is it, that Vertue makes it self be revered by its very enemies) that he was often afterwards heard say, That of all those who reigned in *Christendome*, there was none but this Prince, and *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, to whom he would have communicated those great things which agitated his spirit, if they had not been Hereticks. Nor could all the prayers of the League ever oblige him to furnish any thing towards the charges of this War; which possibly overwhelmed the greatest part of their Enterprizes, because their hopes in part depended on a Million which he had promised them.

Now as on their side, the Chiefs of the League endeavoured to engage on their party all the Lords and Cities they could; our *Hen-*

ry

ry on his part re-united with him all his friends both of the one and the other Religion: the Marshal of *Damville-Montmorency* Governour of *Languedoc*: the Duke of *Montpensier*, Prince of the blood, who was Governour of *Poïtiou*, with his Son the Prince of *Dombes*: the Prince of *Condé*, who held a part of *Poïtiou*, of *Xaintonge*, and of *Angoumois*: the Count of *Shiffons*, and the Prince of *Conty* his brother. Of these five Princes of the blood, the three last were his Cousen-Germans, the two first were removed one degree further; and all professed the Catholick Religion, save onely the Prince of *Condé*. He had likewise on his part *Lefdiguières*, who, from a plain Gentleman, had by his Valour elevated himself to so high a point, that he was Master of the *Daulphinat*, and made the Duke of *Savoy* tremble: *Claudius de la Trimouille*, who possessed great Lands in *Poïtiou* and *Brittany*, and was sometimes before turned *Hugonot*, that he might have the honour to marry his Daughter to the Prince of *Condé*: *Henry de la Tour*, Viscount of *Turenne*, who either out of complacency, or true perswasion, had espoused the new Religion: *Chastillon*, son to the Admiral of *Coligny*; *la Boulaye* Lord *Poitevin*; *Rene*, chief of the house of *Roban*; *George de Clermont d'Amboise*; *Francis*, Count of *Rocheboucaud*; the Lord de *Aubetterre*; *James de Caumont-la-force*; the *Seigneurs de Pons*; *Saint Gelais-Lansac*: with many other Lords and Gentlemen of remark, all, or most, of the new Religion.

Part I.
The King
of Navarre
makes a
League to
defend
himself.

Part I.

gion. At the same time he dispatched to Elizabeth Queen of England, and to the Protestant Princes of Germany, such able Agents, that they joyned all together in a strong Union, The One to maintain the Other: so that all these being united, all things arrived contrary to what the League expected; and our Henry found himself fortified in such manner, that he had no longer any apprehension of being oppressed, without having the means to defend himself.

I shall not make here a particular Recital of the Actions either of the one or the other party during the years 1585. and 1586. because I have observed nothing very considerable.

1586.

Henry 3.
hated both
the League
& the Hugonots,
and loved none
but his favourites.
The
Queen-mother
endeavoured
an accommodation
with the
King of
Navarre.

King Henry the third was extremely perplexed at this War, which was maintained at his expence, and to his great prejudice, since they disputed the succession, he yet living, and well, and already considered him as one dead. He loved neither the one nor the other party; but did so much cherish his Favourites, (strange blindness!) that he could have desired, had it been in his power, to have parted his Estate amongst them. The League on their side pretended to have power enough to carry it; and our Henry hoped to frustrate the designs both of the one and the other. The Queen-mother having other wishes for the children of her Daughter married to the Duke of Lorrain, promised the King to finde means

to

to calm all these tempests. To this purpose Part I. she procured a Truce with our *Henry*: during which, an Interview was agreed upon between him and her at the Castle of *St. Brix* near *Coignac*; where both the one and the other met in the month of *December*.

The Interview and conference at *St. Brix*.

There was some difficulty to finde security both for the one and the other; but especially for the *Queen-mother*, who was wonderfully distrustful. Our *Henry* hereupon did an Action of great Generosity; which he managed in this manner: There had a Truce been agreed upon for the security of this Conference, in such sort, that if either party broke it, they were in fault, and might justly be arrested: now some of our *Henry*'s followers, feigning to be Traytors, had enticed some of the Catholick-Captains, too greedy of the booty, to *Fontenay*, which they would have let them take: by this means the Catholicks would have remained convict of perfidy, and he had had good pretence to arrest the *Queen-mother*: but this generous Prince, having understood the carriage of this foul play, was extreemly troubled against those who contrived it, and forbad them to continue it. Was not this to have the true sentiments of honour founded in his Soul, and not onely in his exterior Carriage?

A noble & generous Action of our Prince.

And as he testified his Generosity in that Rencontre, so he made known his Constancy and the power of his Spirit in all the Discourse. The *Queen* demanding of him what it

His constancy in the whole conference.

Part I. it was he would; he answered, regarding those Ladies she had brought with her, *Madam, there is nothing that I would have*: as if he would have said, That he would not longer permit himself to be drawn away by such allurements. She endeavoured above all things to disunite him with the other Chiefs of his party, or to render him suspected, offering all that he demanded as to his particular: but he, knowing well her stratagem, held firmly to this point, That he could not treat any thing without communicating it to his Friends.

After a long entertainment, she once demanding him if the pains she had taken should produce no more fruit, especially to her, who onely wished for repose; he answered her, *Madam, I am not the cause of it; nor is it I who hinder you from resting in your Bed: it is you that hinder me from resting in mine. That pains you take, pleaseth and nourishes you; for Repose is the greatest enemy of your life.*

A handsome answer to Duke de Nevers.

He made many other Replies, very lively and full of spirit: but above all, that was observable which he made to the Duke of Nevers, of the house of Gonzague, who accompanied the Queen-mother. This Duke advancing once to tell him that he might live much more honourably near the King than among those people who had no authority; and that if he should have occasion for money at Rochel, he would scarce have the credit to raise one impost; he fiercely replied; *Sir, I do*

do at Rochel all that I please, because I shall Part I.
 please to do nothing but what I ought.

This Conference of St. Brix having produced nothing but new Exasperations, and the Conference at St.
 Queen-mother being returned, the *Gnises*, Brix pro-
 who endeavoured by all means possible to re- duce nothing
 venge themselves of the Favourites, made of-
 fer of their service to our Henry; and the
 Duke of Mayenne sent to tell him, that there
 might means be found for an accommodati-
 on, if he would understand them; that he
 would come to finde him with four horse, at
 whatever place he pleased; and that he would
 give him his Wife and Children for Hostage.
 This Negotiation had no success, nor can I
 finde the cause why it was interrupted.

The rest of the Winter passed in the two Dances and
 Courts in Feasts and Dances: for though Feasts in
 among the miseries and troubles of the King- the Courts
 dome, Queen Katherine had introduced that of the two
 custome of Dancing in all places and in all Kings.
 seasons: which she did, as it was said, to amuse
 the great ones of the Court in those vain Di-
 vertisements; there being nothing which more
 dissipates the powers of the spirit, nor which
 is more capable, if we may speak so, to dissolve
 the forces of the soul, then the ravishing sound
 of Violins, the continual agitation of the
 body, and Charms of Ladies. After the Ex-
 amples of the Court, Dances, and Maskes
 reigned in all the Realm: Nor could the
 Remonstrances of the Ministers hinder these
 Dances among the greatest part of the Hugo-
 not

Blaise de
 Monluc,
Mastral of
 France, who
 writ in
 these times,
 says in his
 Memoires,
 That what-
 ever affair
 there were
 of force, the
 Dancing
 was still to
 go forward.

Part I. not Lords, though there were still some who could not suffer it.

1587.

An Army
of German
Protestants
enter
France.

It is fol-
lowed by
the Duke
of Guise.

In the Spring, some Enterprizes began, both on one part and the other; but they were nothing in comparison of what was done towards the end of the Summer. The Protestant Princes of Germany sent an Army to the assistance of the Hugonots, consisting of Five thousand *Lansquenets* or German Foot, Sixteen thousand *Switzers*, and Six thousand *Reistres* or German Horse. They traversed *Lorraine* and *Champagne*, afterwards passed the *Seine*, and marched towards the *Loire*, as if they would have passed it, or coast along it in their re-advancing. At the same time the King of *Navarre* had gathered his forces towards *Rocheb*, and endeavoured to come to meet them unto the Bankes of the *Loire*; but he was hindred by an Army of the Kings, commanded by the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who had order diligently to pursue him. The Duke of *Guise* having likewise gathered the forces of his party; and though they were very small, followed sometimes the German horse, sometimes coasted them, and oftentimes mixed himself amongst them without any great danger; so much the rather, because this too weighty body of strangers could not easily move, being troubled with a great baggage, not having a Chief either of any great Credit, or sufficiently intelligent to Conduct; and all its Captains being in discord and bad intelligence one with the other.

By

By reason of all these defaults, this Army Part I.
 could never take any good Resolution. The It doth no-
Loire was fordable in many places; for it was thing to
 about the end of *September*: but nevertheless purpose.
 they would not pass it, but came to spread
 themselves in the *Champaines* of *Beaufre*, ex-
 pecting News from the King of *Navarre*, in-
 stead of advancing amongst the *Nivernois*, and
 gaining *Burgongne*. The intention of the King
 of *Navarre*, was to advance along *Dordogne*,
 and from thence enter into *Guyenne*; and af-
 ter having gathered together all his Forces,
 to meet the Protestant Army in *Burgongne*, by
 the favour of those Provinces were his friends.
 But the Duke of *Joyeuse* obstinately pursued
 him; imagining he fled, because in effect he
 avoided fighting, having no other end then a
 Conjunction with the *Germans*.

The King
 of *Navarre*
 would joyn
 with them,
 but the
 Duke of
Joyeuse
 makes head
 against him
 with an
 Army.

This new Duke was much declined in his
 favour with the King, who had received ad-
 vice that he inclined much to the League; not
 that he loved the *Guisers*, but because he had
 permitted it to be put into his head by his flat-
 terers, that he deserved to be Chief of that
 great party; and he held the destruction of
 the *Hugonots* so certain, that he had obtained
 from the Pope the Confiscation of all the So-
 veraign Territories of our *Henry*. Desiring
 therefore to sustain his Reputation and Fa-
 vour, which were then tottering, he pursued
 him so closely, that he overtook him near to
Contras.

The Duke
 overtakes
 him near
Contras.

The Army of *Joyeuse* was, as one may say,
 F all *Joyeuse* was

What the
 Army of
Joyeuse was

Part I. all of Gold, shining with Silver and Gold Laces; with Damasked Arms; with Feathers in great Plumes; with Embroydered Scarfs; with Velvet Coats, with which every Lord, according to the mode of the times, had furnished his Companies: but the Army of the King of Navarre, was all of Iron, having no other then Grizled Arms, without any Ornament, with great Belts of Buff, and labouring Habits. The first had the advantage in number, having six hundred Horse, and a thousand Foot, more then the other; the half of its Infantry, Dragoons; its Cavalry almost all Lances, and most mounted on managed Horses: it had besides for it, the Name and Authority of the King, and assurance of Rewards; but the better half of it was composed of new Troops, which wanted Order and Discipline: It had a General without Authority; an hundred Chiefs in stead of one; and all young people, elevated in the Delights of the Court; having sufficient Heart and Courage, but without any Experience.

The other on the contrary was composed of all the choice men of its party: the old remnant of the Battails of *Jarnac* and *Montemour*; people bred up in the mystery of War, and hardned by the continual endurance of Fights and Adversities. It had at its Head, three Princes of the Blood, the Chief of them well obeyed and revered as the presumptive Heir of the Crown, the love of the Souldiery, and hope of all good French-men: besides, it

was

was armed with a necessity either to overcome Part I.
or die; Armour of more proof then either
Steel or Brass.

Orders being given, the King of Navarre His Exhortation to
called all his Chiefs; and from a little rising ground, exhorted them in few words, but
such as were agreeable both to his Quality and his Army,
the time; taking Heaven to witness, that he and to the
fought not against his King, but for the Defence of his Religion and Right. Princes of
Afterwards the Blood,
addressing himself to the two Princes of the Condé and
Blood, Condé and Soissons; I shall say nothing
else to you, said he, but that you are of the house
of Bourbon; and if God live, I will now shew
you that I am worthy to be the first-born of that
Family.

His Valour that day appeared above that of
all others. He had placed on his Head-piece
a Plume of white Feathers, both to make him-
self known, and because he loved that colour:
so that some putting themselves before him,
out of designe to shelter and defend his per-
son, he cryed out to them, *To your Quarter,*
I pray you, and do not shadow me; for I would ap- His valour
pear. & bravery,
“A Bravery without doubt absolutely
“necessary for a Conquerour, but which
“would be temerity and an unsupportable
“fault in a Prince well established. He broke
the first ranks of the Enemy, and took Priso-
ners with his own hand, and came even to
handy-gripes with one named Chasteau-Rey-
nard, Corner of a Company of Gens d’Arms,
saying to him, *Deliver thy Colours.*

Part I. The Battail being gained, some having seen the Flyers, who made a halt, came to tell him, that the Army of the Marshal of *Maignon* appeared: he received this News as a new subject of Glory; and turning bravely towards his people, *Let us go, my Friends,* said he, *this will be a thing never before seen, two Battails in one day.*

It was not onely his Valour made him worthy to be admired in this occasion; it was likewise his Justice, Moderation and Clemency: for his Justice, we may recount what follows.

An Action
of great
Justice, and
Christian
Humility.

He had debauched the Daughter of an Officer of *Rochet*; a thing which had dishonoured that Family, and very much scandalized him among the *Rochellers*. A Minister, as the Squadrans were almost ready to go to the charge, and that the Prayer was to be made, took the Liberty to remonstrate to him, That God could not favour his Arms, if he did not before demand pardon for that offence, repair the scandal by a publick satisfaction, and restore Honour to a Family he had deprived of it. The good King humbly hearkned to these Remonstrances, fell upon his Knees, demanded of God pardon for his fault; prayed all those who were present to serve as witnesses of his repentance; and to assure the Father of the Maiden, that if God gave him the grace to live, he would repair as much as possible the Honour he had deprived her of. So Christian a submission, drew tears from all the Assistants:

nor

nor was there any who would not have ventured a thousand Lives for a Prince who so cordially inclined himself to do Reason to his inferiours. Part I.

Having thus overcome himself, God made him Conquerour over his Enemies: and who knows but that he exalted him, because he so Christianly humbled himself? The Enemies Army was wholly defeated, with the loss of five thousand men: all their Cannon, baggage, Ensignes, and all their chief Commanders, were taken Prisoners, except two or three, among whom were the Duke of Joyeuse, and of St. Saviour his brother, who were found dead on the place. The Barrail of Coutras, which he gains.

That night, our Conquerour finding his Lodgings full of Prisoners and wounded persons of the Enemy, was constrained to cause his Bed to be carried to those of Plessis Moray: but the Body of Joyeuse being laid forth on the Table in the Hall, he was there forced to mount on high; and there, while he slept, were presented unto him the prisoners, fifty six foot-Ensignes, and twenty two Standards and Corners. Joyeuse slain.

It was a fair and glorious Spectacle for this Prince, to have under his feet that Enemy who had obtained from the Pope the Confiscation of his Territories; to see his Table environed with so many Noble Captains, and his Chamber tapistred with Ensignes. But to speak truth, it was much more agreeable to generous Souls, to see, that amongst so many sub-

Part I.

His moderation and admirable Clemency in his Victory.

He pursues it not, and wherefore.

jects of Vanity and Pride; and in so just resentments of those bloody injuries done him, (things which often transport the sweetest Souls to insolence and cruelty) there could not be observed either in his words or countenance, the least sign that might breed any suspicion, that either his Constancy or Goodness were ever so little altered; but on the contrary, shewing himself as Courteous and Humane in his victory, as he had shewed himself brave and redoubtable in fight; he sent back almost all the Prisoners without ranfome, restored their baggage to many, took great care of the wounded, and gave the body of *Joyeuse* and *S. Saver* to the Viscount de *Turenne*, who was their Kinsman; and dispatched the next morning his Master of Requests to the King, to intreat peace of him: from whence it was judged, that so great a courage would overcome all its enemies, and that nothing would be capable to renverse his fortune, whom so great a prosperity was not able to move.

He was however blamed, for not having hotly pursued his victory, and for having permitted that Triumphant Army to break by, not again employing them in some great exploit. It was believed, and there was much appearance for it, that he would not press things too forward, for fear of too much offending the King, with whom he desired yet to keep some measures; hoping daily that he might reconcile himself to him, and return

HENRY the Great.

71

turn to Court, where it was necessary he should be, that he might be in a condition to take the Crown, when Henry the third should dye. In fine, were it for this reason, or other, he retired into *Gascogne*, and from thence into *Bearne*, under pretext of some affairs; carrying with him only Five hundred horse, and the Count of *Soissons*, whom he kept near him, out of hopes to make him *Esponse* his sister. The Prince of *Conde* returned to *Rochel*, and *Turenne* to *Perigord*.

Part I.

In the mean time, that great Army of *Defeat of the German horse.* *Germans* having received many checks in several places, but especially at *Auneau* in *Beauisse*, where the Duke of *Guise* slew or took Prisoners Three thousand *Reistres*; afterward at *Pont de Gien*, where the Duke of *Espernon* took Twelve hundred *Lansquenets* or Foot, and almost all the Cannon; willingly hearkened to an agreement, which the King caused to be proposed to them: and afterwards retired by *Burgongne*, and by the County of *Montbeliard*, but were still pursued farther in that County, by the Duke of *Guise*. *The rest of that Army retire.*

Now began the year One thousand five hundred eighty eight; which all Judicial Astrologers had called the wonderful year, because they foresaw so great a number of strange accidents, and such confusion in natural causes, that they were assured, that if the end of the world came not, there would happen at least an Universal Change.

1588
Prognostications of the evils of the year 1588.

Part I.

Their Prognosticks were seconded by a number of terrible Prodigies which arrived throughout all Europe. In France there were great Earth-quakes, along the River Loire, and likewise in Normandy. The Sea was for six weeks together disturbed with continual tempests, which seemed to confound both heaven and earth. In the Aire appeared divers Phantasmes of fire; and on the four and twentieth of January, Paris was covered with so horrible a darkness, that those who had the best eyes, could scarce see any thing at noon-day, without the help of lights. All these Prodigies seemed to signifie what soon after Arrived, the death of the Prince of Conde, the Besieging of Paris, the Subversion of the whole Realm, the Murthering of Messieurs de Guise, and in fine the Parricide of Henry the third.

Death of
the Prince
of Conde.

As for the Prince of Conde, he died in the month of March, at S. John d' Angeli, where he then made his residence. Though there had been a secret jealousy between him and the King of Navarre, even to the making of two factions in their party; yet the King resented this losse with an extreme grief; and having shut himself up in his Closet, with the Count de Soissons, he was heard to cast forth great cries, and say that he had lost his right hand: However, after his grief was a little evaporated, he recovered his Spirit; and casting all his trust on Divine Protection, he came forth, saying with a heart full of Christian

The King
of Na-
varre much
afflicted.

But in his
affliction
puts his
trust in
God.

stian assurance: *God is my refuge and my support, it is in him alone I will hope, and I shall not be confounded.* Part I.

It was truly a great losse for him: he was now alone to Support all the weight of affairs; and being denuded of this assister, remained more exposed to the attempts of the League, who had now only to give a like blow to his person, to remain Conquerours in all their affairs. He had therefore just cause to fear their attempts: However, the Duke of *Guise* had a heart so Noble and great, that whilst he lived, he would never suffer such detestable waies.

The Confidence of the League encreased wonderfully, by the death of this Prince; they testified extraordinary rejoycings, and published that it was an effect of the Justice of God, and of the Apostolick curses. The *Hugonots* on the contrary, were in an extreme consternation, considering that they had lost in him their most assured Chief, because they believed him firmly perswaded in their Religion; but had not the same opinion of the King of *Navarre*. In effect, the Confusion and Disorder was so great amongst them, that in all appearance, had they continued strongly to prosecute them, they might have soon ruined them. The King hated them mortally, and would willingly have consented; but he would manage things in such manner, that their destruction should not prove the agrandizing of the Duke of *Guise*, and his own losse: but this Duke

The
League
rejoyce.

The *Huga-*
nots affli-
cted.

Senti-
ments of
Hen. 3.

Part I.
The Duke
of Guise
presseth
him to give
him forces
to extermi-
nate the
Hugonots.
The Duke
of Guise
much
loved, and
Hen. 3.
much
hated.

D^r Espinac
& Villeroy
become
friends to
the Duke
of Guise,
and why.

The ill
Condu^t
of Henry 3.

Duke knowing his intentions, pressed him continually to give him forces utterly to exterminate the Hugonots, in whose ruine he infallibly hoped to involve the King of Navarre.

He had this advantage over the King, that he had acquired the love of the people, principally by two means; the first, by his opposing himself to the new Imposts; and the second, by continually being at variance with the Favorites, nor ever bending before them: whilst the doing of things contrary, had made the King fall into an extreme low Esteem, and had likewise taken away the heat of some of his servants love. See here an Example.

The King had two great men in his Council, Peirre d'Espinac Archbishop of Lyons, and Villeroy Secretary of State: The Duke d'Espemnon, who was fierce and haughty, would treat them according to his proud humour; they grew exasperated against him, and thereupon change their affection to the Duke of Guise his party, but without doubt still in their hearts remaining most faithful to the King and Crown of France, as afterward well appeared, especially in the person of Villeroy.

In the mean time, the King lived after the ordinary manner, in the profusions of an odious Luxury, and in the laziness of a contemptible Retreat; passing his time either in seeing Dances, or in playing with little Dogs, of which he had great numbers of all sorts;

or

or else in Teaching Parriquito's to speak, or in Cutting of Images, or in other Occupations more becoming an Infant than a King. Part I.

But the Duke of Guise lost no time: he made dayly new friends, conserved his old ones, caressed the people, testified a great zeal for the Ecclesiasticks, undertook their defence against all would oppress them; and every where appeared with the Splendor and Gravity of a Prince, but yet without Pride, without Arrogancy: The *Parisians* were intoxicated with esteem for him; the greatest part of the Parliament, and most part of the other Officers attended his motions, and testified to him the affection they ought to the service of the King.

The Conduct and employs of the Duke of Guise.

There were an infinite number of people who had signed the League: and in the sixteen Quarters or Wards of *Paris*, when they could not gain the Quarteniers or Aldermen, they chose one the most violent of the Leaguers to act in their function; by reason of which, they afterwards called at *Paris* the Principal of this party, and their faction, *What the the sixteen*: not that they were but sixteen, *sixteen* for their number exceeded Ten thousand, *were;* but all dispersed through the sixteen Quarters.

Now the King, principally incited by the Duke d' *Espernon*, resolved to punish the forwardest of these *sixteen*, who in all occasions shewed themselves furious enemies of that Favorite. By this means he thought to overthrow

The King would punish them.

Part I

no 3 307
las 3
to 307

The Duke
of Guise
hastens to
defend
them.

The King
retires to
Chartres.

The League
becomes
Mistress of
Paris.

The Parisi-
ans send
Deputies
to the King

overthrow the League, and absolutely ruine the Credit and Reputation of the Duke of Guise. He caused therefore some Troops secretly to enter into Paris, and gave order to seize on those persons.

The Duke of Guise being advised of it, posts from Soissons, where he then was, resolving to perish rather than lose his friends. Barricadoes were raised in the month of May, even to the Gates of the Louvre, and the Kings Troops were all cut in pieces or disarmed. The Queen-mother, according to her ordinary custome, became mediatrix of an Accommodation, but the King fearing to be inclosed; in a fright, retires to Chartres.

The League by this becoming Mistress of Paris, take possession of the Bastille, the Hostel de Ville, and the Temple; hang the Provost of the Merchants, and the Civil Lieutenant. And at the same time they assured themselves of Orleans, Bourges, Amiens, Abbeville, Montreuil, Rouen, Rheims, Chaalons, and more then twenty other Cities in several Provinces; the people every where crying, *Long live Guise, Long live the Protector of the Faith.*

The King, not without much reason, was extreemly affrighted. The Parisians deputed some to him to Chartres, to ask pardon: but withal, they demand the extirpation of Heresie. All the world encreased his fears, none fortified his Courage. In this distress he knew no securer way to shun that danger which threatned him, then by essaying to disarm his

sub-

HENRY the Great.

87

subjects. To this effect he sends one of his Masters of the Requests to the Parliament, to let them understand, that his absolute intention was to forget all that was past; so that every one returned to his Duty, and to labour diligently for the Reformation of the Kingdome; for which end, he found it convenient to assemble the General Estates at the end of the year, where they might provide for the assuring a Catholick Successor of the Blood-Royal; protesting, that he would observe inviolably all the Resolutions of the Estates, but that he would have them free, and without Faction, and that from that day all his Subjects should lay down Arms.

The King pardons all; so they lay down Arms.

The King

The King

The Duke of Guise demands the expulsion of Espernon; which is in the end granted.

It much troubled the Duke of Guise to consent to the laying down Arms; fearing lest when he was left defenceless, he should remain at the mercy of his enemies, and particularly of the Duke d'Espernon. He therefore stirred up the Parisians by a famous denunciation, to demand the continuation of the War against the Hugonots, and the expulsion of that Duke. The King after some resistance, granted both the one and the other: for he caused to be Ratified in Parliament an Edict most advantageously favourable for the League, and most bloody against the Hugonots; and he bid Adieu to the Duke d'Espernon, who retired into his Government of Angoumois.

The Duke of Guise

The Duke of Guise

And after comes to the Court mothers at Chartres.

After this, the Duke of Guise came to attend the King at Chartres, having the Queen-mothers

Part I.

mothers word for his Security; and both gave great assurances of his Fidelity, and received all the testimonies he could wish, of the affection of the King; insomuch that he made him great Master of the *Ordes & Arms* of France.

In the mean time the League gained the upper hand throughout all the Provinces on this side the *Loire*, and caused Deputies for the Estates to be elected at its pleasure. In the moneth of November, the Estates assembled in the City of *Blois*. It is not necessary here to recount all their intrigues. In fine, the King persuading that they had conspired to dethrone

The Estates
of Blois.

The death
of the
Guises.

him, caused the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal his Brother, to be slain in the Castle; and kept prisoner the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Prince of *Joinville*, who after the Death of his Father was called Duke of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Nemours*, brother by the mother to the first Duke.

The Queen-mother, under whose word the *Guises* thought to have been in security, was so touched with the reproaches made her, and with the slights of the King her Son, who after this, believed he had no more need of her, that she died with grief and envy few days after, lamented by no person, not so much as by her Son, and generally hated by all parties.

Death of
Queen
Katherine de
Medices.

Different
Judgments
concerning
the death of
the Guises.

In truth, if ever there were an Action ambiguous or problematical, it was this. The servants of the King said that he was constrained to it by the extream audacity of the *Guises*; and

and that if he had not prevented them, they had shaven him, and shut him up in a Monastery. But the ill repute he had among all men, the general esteem these Princes had acquired, and the odious circumstances of the murder, made it appear horrible even to the eyes of the very *Hugonots*, who said, that this much resembled the bloody Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*.

Our Henry conserved a wise Mediocrity in this rencounter: he deplored their death, and gave praises to their Valour: but he said, That certainly the King had very puissant Motives to treat them in that manner: and for the rest, that the Judgements of God were great, and his Grace thrice-special towards him, having revenged him of his Enemies, and neither engaged his Conscience nor his hand in it. For certain Gentlemen having often offered themselves to him with a determinate resolution to go kill the Duke of *Guise*, he had always let them know, that he abhorred such a Proposition; and that he would neither esteem them his friends, nor honest men, if they conserved it in their thoughts.

His Council being assembled upon this great News, found, that he ought not for it make any change in the conduct of his Affairs, because the King, though himself might be willing to it, durst not for some moneths speak of a Peace with him, for fear lest he should make it be believed that he had slain the *Guises* to favour the *Hugonots*; so that he continued the War, and kept several places.

Part I.

Our Henry speaks very wisely.

He changes not his Conduct.

Part I.

In the mean time, the progress of Affairs beat him out a path to lead him to the heart of the Kingdom, and return him to the Court, which was the post he ought most to wish for.

1589.

Henry 3. amu-
sing himself too
much at
Blois, the
League is
re-assured,
and grows
furious.

The Parli-
ament im-
prisoned in
the *Bastille*
by *Bussy le*
Clerk;
forced to
swear to the
League.
A part re-
mains at
Paris, and
the others
go to the
King, who
transfers
all to *Tours*

Henry the third, amusing himself after the murder of the *Guises*, to examine the Acts of the Estates at *Blois*, instead of mounting presently to horse, and shewing himself in those places where his presence was most necessary; the League, which at first had been astonished at so great a blow, regained its spirits. The great Cities, and principally *Paris*, who were possessed with this madness, having had leisure to dissipate their amazement, passed from fear to pity, and from pity to fury. The *Sixteen* chose at *Paris* the Duke of *Aumarle* for their Governour. The Preachers and Church-men declaimed horribly against the King; the people snatched down his Arms where ever they found them, and dragged them through the dirt. The Parliament, who would have opposed this rage, were imprisoned in the *Bastille* by *Bussy le Clerk*, a simple Protector, but very much esteemed among the *Sixteen*; and were forced to regain their Liberty, to swear to the League. At their coming forth of the *Bastille*, there were many who continued to hold the Parliament at *Paris*; the others stole away by little and little, and went to the King, who transported the Parliament to *Tours*, where they kept their Session until the reducement of *Paris*, in the year fifteen hundred

died ninety four. These without doubt testified most fidelity to their King; but those who remained at Paris, rendered him afterwards much greater service, as shall be observed in its place.

The Widow of the Duke of Guise presented her request to these, to take information of the Death of her Husband; and demanded of the Commissaries, that process might be made against those should be found convicted of it. She received favourable Conclusions from the Proctor-General; and they proceeded very far on this subject, even against the person of Henry; but I cannot say to what point, because the Papers were taken from the Registers of Parliament, when Henry the Great re-entered into Paris.

Those of the Parliament remaining at Paris, make process against Henry 3.

"We cannot sufficiently detest like Revolts against a Sovereign: but these Examples ought to make him know, that though he holds his power from on high, yet the Obedience depends on the Capricchio of the people, and that he ought so to carry himself as not to attract their hatred; otherwise, since men have the impudence to blaspheme God, why may they not have it to revolt against Kings?"

An excellent reflection for Kings.

Whilst these things were ailing, Henry the third understood that Pope Sixtus the fifth had excommunicated him for the murder of Cardinal de Guise. This great fire in a little time flamed quite through France. The Duke of Mayenne, who was at Lyons making war a-

Henry 3. excommunicated by Pope Sixtus 5.

The Duke of Mayenne assures

Part I. against the *Hugonots*, being advertized by a himself of *Courrier* from *Roissieu* his Secretary, (who prevented the Kings) departing from that City, *Burgongne* and *Champagne*, and comes to *Paris*. He came into his own Government of *Burgongne*, assured himself of *Dijon* and of *Province*; and thence passed into *Champagne*, who stretched out their Arms to him; after to *Oreleunes*, which was already revolted; and so *Chartres*, whom his approaches made likewise rise; and in the end he came to *Paris*. The *Sixteen*, and many of his friends, would have advised him to have taken the Title of King, which they would have caused to be given him by the Council which the League had established: but he refused, contenting himself with the

He takes the quality of *Lieutenant-General of the Estate and Crown of France*; which he took, as if the Throne had been vacant. They likewise broke the Seals of the King, and made others, whereon on one side was engraven the Arms of *France*; and on the other, a Throne empty; and for inscription about it, the Name and Quality of the Duke of *Mayenne* in this manner; *Charles Duke of Mayenne, Lieutenant of the Estate and Crown of France*.

All *France* took part in this occasion; and almost all the Cities and Provinces of the Realm ranged themselves on the Duke of *Mayenne's* side. The King, fearful that he should be shut up in *Blois*, retired to *Tours*. There now rested onely one way for him to defend himself against so many dangers as were ready to environ him; and this was, to call to his assistance

assistance the King of Navarre, who had five Part I.
 or six thousand men, old Souldiers, by whom
 he was well beloved. Yet he durst not do it,
 for fear to be esteemed a Favourer of Here-
 ticks, or incur the blame of violating those
 Edicts against the *Hugonots* he had so solemnly
 sworn to in the Estates of *Blois*. He tryed
 therefore all sorts of ways to appease the re-
 sentment of the Duke of *Mayenne*; offering
 him very advantageous Conditions. But what
 assurance, said the *Leaguers*, can this Duke
 have, his Brothers being murdered in so per-
 fidious a manner? So that he not hearkning
 to any Proposition of Accommodation, Henry
 the third was constrained to turn his thoughts
 toward the King of Navarre.

He in vain
 endeavourd
 to appease
 the Duke
 of *Mayenne*.

He in the
 end calls
 the King of
 Navarre, &
 gives him
Saumur.

This Prince above all things would have a
 passage over the River *Loire*: the City of
Saumur was given to him, where he establish-
 ed Governour *Plessis Moray*, who fortified
 the Castle, and made it the head of the *Hugo-*
not-Garrisons. Being afterwards from thence
 approached *Tours*, his old Captains kept him
 for some time in distrust, and hindered him
 from going to see the King, whom they fear-
 ed (they said) lest in a time wherein a Treason
 was so necessary for him, to draw him out of
 that Labyrinth wherein the Action of *Blois*
 had involved him, he should buy his Absolu-
 tion at the price of the King of Navarre's
 Life.

The King
 perswaded
 by his
 friends not
 to trust
 him.

The Duke d'Esperron, who was returned
 to Court to serve his Master at his need, and
 the

Part I.

the Marshal *d'Almon*, would have engaged him to it, and given him their words: but his friends could not consent that he should expose himself to the Faith of a Prince, who as they believed, had not any. In truth their fears were just, and our *Henry* was without doubt possessed with them as well as they: However, after he had well considered that he acted now for the safety of *France*, for the service of the King, and to open to himself a way to defend that Crown appertained to him, he resolved to hazard all, and to resign himself absolutely to the holy Guard of the sovereign Protector of Kings.

Yet here-
solves to
go, arrive
what will:

to which
purpose he
passes the
River *Cher*.

The City of *Tours* is situated as it were in an Island, a little below the place where the River *Cher* mingles its streams with the *Loire*, having coasted that great River three or four Leagues. The King of *Navarre*'s people would not that he should engage himself between these Rivers, but that the Conference should be held beyond the *Cher*. He almost alone was of opinion contrary to them all; nevertheless to content them, he was constrained to hold a Council on the Banks, and after to permit his Captains to pass first, as if to sound the Ford. He passed after them, and arrived at *Plessis les Tours*, about three a Clock in the Afternoon, in a War-like Habit, all dirty, ready to be covered with his Cuirass; himself onely having a Cloak, all his people being in their Doublets, and ready to put on their Arms, that he might shew he was not

not come to compose his Court, but to serve Part I.
him well.

He went to meet the King, who heard Vespers at the Minimes. The crowd of the people was so great, that they were a long time before they could joyn. Our Henry being within three paces of the King, cast himself at his feet, endeavouring to kiss them; but the King would not permit him, but lifting him up, embraced him with great tenderness; they reiterated their embraces three or four times, the King naming him his Thrice-dear Brother, and he calling him his Lord. There were now heard eccho the joyful Cries of *Vive le Roy*, which had for a long time been silent; as if the presence of our Henry had given a new birth to the peoples affections, which seemed extinct for Henry the third.

His interview with the King at Tours.

After the two Kings had for sometime entertained each other, our Henry passed the River, and went to lodge at the Suburb of St. *Simphorien*; for he had been obliged to promise thus much to the old Hugonots, who believed snares and traps every where laid for him. But he who was pricked forward by other Motives, and who was endowed with that generous Principle, "That we ought not be too sparing of our Lives when there is something to be gained which ought to be more precious than Life it self to a great Courage, departed the next morning at six of the Clock, without advertizing his people; and attended onely by one Page, passing the

He repasses the River, and lies in the Faubourg;

but on the morrow visits the King alone.

Part I.

They re-
solve to
besiege
Paris.

Bridge, went to give a visit to the King. They entertained one another a long time in two or three Conferences; in which our *Henry* gave great marks of his Capacity and Judgement. Their Resolution in sum, was to raise a puissant Army to assault *Paris*; which was the principal head of the *Hydra*, and gave motion to all the rest: a thing easie for them to do, because the King expected great Levies from towards the *Switzers*, whither he had sent *Sancy* for that purpose; adding, that the designe of the siege being published, it would infallibly draw a great number of Souldiers and Adventurers, out of hopes of so rich a pillage.

The two Kings having passed two days together, he of *Navarre* went to *Chinon*, to cause the rest of his Troops to advance, who hitherto had refused to mingle themselves among the Catholicks.

Duke of
Mayenne
wants little
to surprize
King *Hen. 3*
at *Tours*.

During his absence, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had taken the Field, fell upon the Suburbs of *Tours*, thinking to surprize the City, and the King within it, by means of some intelligence. The Combat was very bloody, and the Dukes designe wanted little of taking effect; but after the first endeavours, having lost the hopes to compass it, he easily retired.

Afterwards the Kings Troops being wonderfully increased, they marched conjoynly, he and the King of *Navarre* towards *Orleans*; took all the little places thereabouts, and from thence descended into *Beauce*, and drew

to

together all of a sudden towards *Paris*. All Part I.

the Posts round about it, as *Paiſſy*, *Eſtampes*,
and *Meulan*, were either forced, or obtained

Capitulation: " in which they deſired no o-

"ther ſecurity then the word of the King of

"*Navarre*; to which they truſted more then

"to all the Writings of *Hen. 3.* So great a

"profeſſion made he of keeping his word, even

"to the prejudice of his intereſts.

Let us conſider a little the different Eſtate

to which theſe two Kings were reduced by

their different conduct. " The One, for ha-

"ving often broken his Faith, was abandoned

"by his Subjects; and his greateſt Oaths found

"no belief amongſt them: and the Other, for

"having always exactly kept it, was followed

"even by his greateſt Enemies: in all occaſi-

"ons he gave marks of his Valour and Experi-

"ence in point of War; but above all, of his

"Prudence, and of thoſe Noble Inclinations

"he had to good, and to oblige all the world.

"He was always ſeen in the moſt dangerous

"places, to accelerate Labours, animate his

"Souldiers, ſuſtain them in Sallies, comfort

"the wounded, and cauſe Money to be diſtri-

"buted amongſt them. He obſerved all, in-

"quired into all, and would himſelf with the

"Marſhal of the Camp, order the Lodgings

"of his Souldiers. He obſerved ſtrictly what

"was done in the Army of *Henry 3.* where

"though he often found faults, he concealed

"them, out of fear to offend thoſe who had

"committed them, by diſcovering their igno-

Great and
profitable
Reflections
made on
the diffe-
rent Con-
ducts of
Hen. 3. and
the King of
Navarre.

Part I. 9 "rance : and when he believed himself obli-
 " to take notice of them, he did it with so
 " much Circumspection, that they could not
 " finde any reason to take it in ill part. He
 " was never niggardly of giving praises due to
 " Noble Actions, nor of Cares and gene-
 " rous Deport to those came near him : he en-
 " tertained himself with them when he had
 " time to do it ; or at least so obliged them
 " with some good word, that they still went
 " away satisfied. He feared not at all to make
 " himself familiar, because he was assured that
 " the more men knew him, the more they
 " would esteem him. In fine, the conduct of
 " this Prince was such, that there was no heart
 " he gained not, nor no friend he had who
 " would not willingly have become his Mar-
 " tyr.

Paris be-
 sieged.

Paris was already besieged; the King lodged
 at St. Clou, and our Henry at Meudon, keeping
 with his Troops all that is between Vanvres to
 the Bridge of Charenton. Saucy was already
 arrived with his Levies of Suisses ; and they
 laboured with Orders to give a general Assault,
 to the end they might gain the Suburbs be-
 neath the River. The Duke of Mayenne, who
 was in the City with his Troops expecting
 those Supplies the Duke of Nemours was to
 bring, was in great apprehensions that he
 should not be able to sustain the furious shock
 was preparing ; when a young Jacobin of the
 Convent of Paris, named James Clement,
 spurred on by a Resolution as devilish and de-
 testable

King Hen. 3.
 killed by a
 Jacobin.

testable as it was determinate, smote King **Part I.**
 Henry the third with a blow of a knife in the
 Belly; of which he died the morrow after. If
 the frantick Monk had not been slain upon
 the place by the Kings Guards, many things
 might have been known, which are now con-
 cealed.

Our Henry being advertized late in the Evening of this mournful Accident, and of the danger in which the King was, came to his Lodging, accompanied onely by five and twenty or thirty Gentlemen; and being arrived a little before he expired, he fell on his knees to kiss his hands, and received his last Embraces. The King named him many times his Good Brother, and Legitimate Successour; recommended the Kingdome to him; exhorted the Lords there present to acknowledge him, and not to disunite. In fine, after having conjured him to embrace the Catholick Religion, he gave up the Ghost; leaving all his Army in an astonishment and confusion which cannot be expressed, and all the Chiefs and Captains in Irresolutions and different Agitations, according to their Humours, Fancies or Interests.

Our Henry comes to visit him dying.

What the King said to him, and those present.

Part II.

The Second PART

OF THE

L I F E

OF

Henry the Great.

Containing what he did, from the day he came to the Crown of France, until the Peace which was made in the year 1598. by the Treaty at *Vervin*.

1589
Change
caused by
the Death
of Hen. 3.



THE Death of Henry the third caused an entire change in the face of affairs. Paris, the League, and the Duke of Mayenne, were transported from a profound Sadness, to a furious Joy; and the Servants of the De-funct King, from a Pregnant Hope to see him Revenged, to an extreme Defolation.

This Prince, who had been the object of the peoples hatred, being now no more, it seemed that that hatred should cease, and by conse-

consequence the heat of the League relent: but Part II.
 on the contrary, not only all those who composed that faction, but likewise many others who had held it for a Crime to League themselves against Henry the third, their *Catholick* and Legitimate King, believed themselves in Conscience Obligated to oppose themselves against our Henry, at least till such time as he should return into the bosome of the true Church: a qualification they believed absolutely necessary for that him should succeed *Charlemagne* or *S. Lewis*. So that if the League lost that heat which hatred gave it, it gained one much more specious, from a zeal to Religion; and had likewise a most plausible pretext not to lay down Arms till Henry should Profess the Religion of his Ancestors.

It was very difficult to judge, whether the point of time wherein this unhappy Parricide arrived, were good or ill for him: for on one side it seemed that Providence had not drawn him from the utmost parts of the Kingdom, where he was like a banished man, and led him by the hand to the fairest Theatre in *France*, but only to make known his goodness and virtue, and put him in an Estate to gain that Succession, to which, had he been absent, he had never been called. But on the other side, when the multitude of his Puissant enemies, which armed themselves against him, are considered, the small Treasure, and few Forces he had, the Obstacle of his Religion, and

Problem, if
Hen. 3. died in a
 time favourable to
Hen. 4. or
 not.

Part II. and a thousand other difficulties, it could not be certainly judged, whether the Crown was ordained for him to enjoy, or fallen upon his head to crush him in Pieces: and there might be reason to say, that if this Con-
 juncture Elevated him, it was upon a Throne trembling, and erected on the brink of Precipices.

Henry 4.
 holds ma-
 ny Coun-
 cels.

Whilst Henry the third was in his Agony, our Henry held many Tumultuary Councils in the same lodgings, with those whom he Esteemed his most faithful Servants. So soon as he understood he was expired, he retired to his quarter at Mendon, and attired himself in the mourning Purple: he was presently followed by a great quantity of Noblemen, who accompanied him as well for Curiosity as affection. The Hugonots with those Troops which he had led, presently swore Allegiance to him: but this number was very small. Some of the Catholicks, as the Marshal d'Amont, Givry, and Humieres, swore Service to him until death, and that willingly, without desiring any Condition of him; but the greatest part of the others, being either estranged by inclination, or exasperated by some discontent, or else believing now to have found the time to make their Services be bought, kept at a greater distance, and held several little Assemblies in divers places, where they formed a number of Fantastick designs.

Some de-
 sign to
 make

Each of these proposed to make them-
 selves

HENRY the Great.

selves Sovereigns of some City, or some Province, as the Governours had done in the decadence of the house of Charlemagne. The Marshal of *Byron* among others, would have had the County of *Perigord*; and *Sancy*, not to reject him, spoke to the King. This Proposition was very dangerous: for if he denied it, he incensed him; and if he accorded to his demand, he opened the way to all others to make the like, and so the Kingdome would be rent in Peices. It was only his great spirit and understanding, which could walk safely in so dangerous a path: he therefore charged *Sancy* to assure him on his part of his affection, of which he would willingly in time and place give him all the markes a good Subject could expect from his Sovereign; but at the same time, he furnished him with so many puissant reasons wherefore he could not accord to what he desired, that *Sancy* being himself first perswaded, found it not difficult to work the same effect on the spirit of *Byron*; whom he obliged not only to renounce that pretence, but likewise to protest that he would never suffer any peice of the Estate to be dismembred, in favour of whomsoever.

We may without doubt conclude, that the great *Henry* did reason puissantly; and that he explained his reasons in the best manner, since he could in occasions so important, perswade such able Spirits against their proper interests.

Byron

Part II.
 themselves
 Sovereigns
 The Mar-
 shal of *By-
 ron* among
 others; but
 the King
 made him
 forgo his
 desire.

The History of

Part II.
Byron and
Sancy as-
sure the
Catholick
Swiss to
the Kings
Service.

Byron being thus gained, went with Sancy to assure themselves of those *Suisse*, which Sancy had brought to the deceased King, but who being of the *Catholick Cantons*, made some difficulty to bear Arms for a *Hugonot* Prince, and that without new order from their Superiour. As for the *French Troops* of the Defunct King, it was not so easie to gain them. The Lords who Commanded them, or who had their Chiefs under their dependance, had every one divers designs; one would have one thing, and the other another, according to their several interests or Caprichio's.

What
was the
disposition
of the
Princes of
the blood
towards
the King.

There were six Princes of the house of *Bourbon*, to wit, the old Cardinal of *Vendosme*, the Count of *Soissons*, the Prince of *Gonti*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the Prince of *Dombes* his Son; which in stead of being his firmest Prop, gave him no little inquietude; because there was none of them which had not his particular pretence; which proved to him a continual Obstacle.

Many
Lords in
Camp and
Court ill
intended.

Many of the Lords which were in the Army were not very well intentionated, particularly *Henry Grand Prior of France*, Natural Son to *Charles* the ninth, (after Count of *Auvergne* and Duke of *Angoulesme*) the Duke of *Espernon*, and *Termes Belle-garde*, who out of the fear they had formerly had, lest he should deprive them of the favour of their Master, had opposed him in divers *Ren-counters*. For the Courtiers, as *Francis d'O*,

HENRY the Great.

26

and *Manon* his brother, *Old-Castle* and many others, they knowing that our *Henry* detested their Villanous Debaucheries, and that he would not prove a person of so ill management, as to lavish out his Revenues to supply their Luxury, had no great inclination for him. Nevertheless, hoping to find things better, they resolved to declare in his favour; but with such Conditions as should restrain and bridle him, and in some manner oblige him to depend on them.

Part II.
The King
and the
Nobles
were
assembled
at the
Palace
of the
King.

For this purpose there met an Assembly of some Noblemen, at *d'O's* Palace (a man Voluptuous, Prodigal, and by consequence not very scrupulous; but who at present made Conscience a Cloak to render himself necessary) who there resolved not to acknowledge him, till he were a Catholick. *Francis d'O* accompanied with some Noblemen, had the confidence to carry to the King the Resolutions of this Assembly; and added a studied discourse, to perswade him to return to the Catholick Religion: but the King, who had already past over his greatest fears, made them an answer so mixt with sweetness and gravity, with spirit and reservedness, that Couragiously repulsing them, without too severely taunting them, he testified to them that he desired to conserve them his, but that after all, he feared not much the loss of them.

Assembly
of Noble-
men at *d'O's*, who
would have
the King
converted.
d'O carries
him word
of it.
The King
answers
them han-
somely and
couragi-
ously.

Some time after, the Nobility, after divers little Assemblies, held a great one, with *Francis de Luxembourg* Duke of *Pinex*. There many

Another
greater
Assembly
resolved
to acknow-

Part II.
ledge him,
provided
he will
permit
himself
to be in-
structed.

vident
-alloy
n 26
only
and blon
part
Lott
-Lott

The Duke
of Pim
carries
their reso-
lution to
the King;
who agrees
to it.

and grants
a Declara-
tion touch-
ing the ex-
ercise of
the Catho-
lick Reli-
gion
through
all his Ter-
ritories.

many Propositions being made, at last the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Pim* subtilly managed the Spirits; and steered the Opinions of the most importunate to this Resolution, That they would acknowledge *Henry* for King, upon these Conditions: 1. Provided that he would cause himself to be instructed; for they presupposed conversion must necessarily follow instruction. 2. That he should not permit the exercise of any but the *Catholick* Religion. 3. That he should neither give charge nor employment to the *Protestors*. 4. That he should permit the Assembly to depute Agents to the Pope, to let him understand and agree to the Causes which Obligated the Nobility to remain in the Service of a Prince separated from the *Roman* Church.

The King had the knowledge of this Resolution, from the Duke of *Pim*: he thanked them for their zeal for the Conservation of the Estate, and the affection they had for his person; promising them, that he would sooner lose his life, then the remembrance of those good services they had rendered him; and granting them easily all the points they demanded, only the second: Instead of which, he promised them to re-establish the exercise of the *Catholick* Religion through all his Territories, and to remit the *Ecclesiasticks* into the possession of their Estates: and of this he caused a Declaration to be ingrossed, which after all the Lords and Gentlemen of Note had

had signed; he sent to be confirmed, by that Part II.
part of the Parliament which was at Tours.

There were many who signed it with some Many sign
regret, and others who absolutely refused it; it with re-
among whom were the Duke of Espernon, and gret, and
Lewis d' Hospital Vint. This last, disturbed as others re-
it was said by a scruple of Conscience, cast fuse, as Vi-
himself into Paris, and gave himself for some try, who be-
time to the League; but first of all, he comes a
abandoned the Government of *Dowdan*, which Leaguer.

The Duke d' Espernon protesting, that he And the
would never be either Spaniard or Leaguer, Duke of
but that his Conscience would not permit him Espernon,
to stay with the King, demanded leave of him who re-
to retire to his Government. The King tires.
after having in vain endeavoured to retain
him, gave him leave, with many Carresses
and prayes: but so much was he in his heart
troubled at his abandoning him, that it hath
been believed he conserved against him a se-
cret resentment so long as he lived.

The Duke of Mayenne was not a little The Duke
troubled in Paris, what resolution he should of Mayenne
take: he saw that all the Parisians, even those troubled
who had held of the party of the Defunct what party
King, had fully resolved to provide for the to take,
Security of Religion: But that however they
would

Part II. would all have a King, contrary to some of the *Sixteen*, who imagined they might form a Republick, and turn France into *Cantons*, like to the *Swiss*; but those were neither sufficiently powerful in Number, Riches, or Capacity, to Conduct such a design. So that the most part of his friends counselled him to take the title of King: but when he went about to found this *Gulfe*, he found that this proposition was neither agreeable to the people, nor yet to the King of *Spain*, from whom he received, and was to receive his Principal stay, and means of Subsistence.

Two Coun-
sels given
him,

Hereupon two other Counsels were given him: the one, to accord willingly with the new King, who without doubt in the conjuncture wherein things were, would grant him most advantagious conditions: The other, that he should by Declaration publish to the Catholicks of the Royal Army, that all resentments remaining Extinct by the Death of *Henry the third*, he had no other interest then that of Religion: That that point being of Divine obligation, and regarding all good Christians; he summoned and conjured them to joyn with him, to exhort the King of *Navarre* to return to the Church; upon which, they promised to acknowledge him immediately for King: but if that he refused to do it, they protested to Subsist in his place another Prince of the blood. This advice was the best. And indeed it was proposed by *Jeanmin* President of the Parlia-

Parliament of *Burgundy*, one of the wisest Part II.
and most Politick heads of his Council, and
who acted in his affairs without Sleights or
Stratagems; but with great judgement, and
singular Honesty.

The Duke of *Mayenne* equally rejected He rejects
both these advices; and took a third, to wit: them, and
the causing the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* (who causes to
was at present detained prisoner by order of be Pro-
our *Henry*,) to be proclaimed King; still re- claimed
serving to himself the quality of Lieutenant the old
General of the Crown. He published after Cardinal
several Declarations, one of which he sent to of *Bourbon*,
the Parliament, the other to the Provinces and the
Nobility, inviting them to endeavour to deli-
ver their King, and defend their Religion.

At the same time the King tried by di- The King
vers Negotiations, and caused him to be ex- tries in
horted rather to seek his advancement by his vain seve-
friendship, then by the troubles and miseries ral Trea-
of *France*. But to this the Duke answered, ties with
that he had engaged his Father in the Publick the Duke,
cause, and given Oath to King *Charles* the
tenth, (for so they called the old Cardinal of
Bourbon, who was named *Charles*) to whom,
according to the sentiment of the League,
the Crown appertained, as to the nearest
Kinsman of the Defunct. And in the mean
time, he entertained Plots and Conspiracies
in the Royal Army; where his emissaries
from day to day debauched many persons,
even of those whom the King believed most
assured. There were many Generous enough

Part II. to resist the temptations of Silver: but nothing was proof against the intrigues of the Ladies of Paris, who cunningly attracted the Gentlemen and the Officers in the City, sparing nothing to engage them.

He The King knowing that there daily remained some catch'd in these snares, and having just reason to fear that those which returned, tempted by their Mistresses, might bring back some pernicious designs; and the Duke of Nemours being upon the advance with his Troops, to joyn with the Duke of Mayenne; the Duke of Lorraine being likewise to send his; having cause to doubt his retreat might be cut off on all sides, found it convenient to discamp from before Paris.

We raises
his League
from Paris,
and why.

He writes
to the Pro-
testant
Princes, to
justifie
himself.

But before he dislodged, he writ to the Protestant Princes, to give them an account of what he did, and to assure them that nothing should be capable to shake his Constancy, or separate him from Christ: and he spoke at present according to his thoughts and Conscience, not having any desire to change: which yet the Ministers of his Religion would not believe, but watched him so close on this Subject, that they became importunate.

His trou-
bles for 4.
years to
content
both Ca-
tholicks &
Hugonots.

It was certainly an unspeakable trouble, which continually for three or four years he was forced to undergo; to hear on one side the exhortations of those people, and on the other, the most instant Remonstrances of the Catholicks: for it was necessary he should

should allay the distrust of the first, and entertain the second with continual hopes of making himself be instructed. How much prudence had he need of? how much patience? with how much judgement and policy must he manage such great differences? Certainly he could not do it without employing all the powers of his Spirit and experience. And he well knew how far it was necessary for a Prince to have his Spirit happily exercised, and to be well instructed how to Negotiate, and Speak well, to be able at his necessity to serve himself of his talent. Without flattery he might well at present praise those, who having had the care of bringing him up, had formed him in his youth to the Management of affairs, to Treating with men, and to the gaining the affections of all the world. Those last devoirs he desired to render his Predecessor, served as a fair pretext for raising his Siege from before Paris. To put his body in a place where the resentment of the Duke of Guise's creatures might not outrage it, he carried it to Compeigne, and laid it in the Abbey of S. Cornille, where he celebrated all the funebrous Ceremonies, as honourably as the confusion of the time would permit. Not able to assist himself, because of his Religion, he committed the care to Bellegarde and Espemon; the last of which accompanied him thither, and then retired into Angoumois.

Part II.

Three advices touching the place to which he should retire,

and had all
the last
which was
to march
into Nor-
mandy.

1590.

He follows
the last,
which was
to march
into Nor-
mandy.

Rolet
brings him
the Keyes
of Pont d'
Arche; and
Chaires of
Diepe.

There were three advices given, concern-
ing the place to which he ought to retire,
when he raised his siege from *Paris*. The
first was, to repass the *Loire*, and abandon to
the League all the Provinces on this side it; be-
cause he could difficultly maintain them. The
second, to re-advance along the *Marne*, and
seizing those Bridges and Cities, expect an
assistance from the Protestant *Suisses* and
Germans promised to come to him. And the
third, to march down into *Normandy*, to assure
himself of some Cities, whose Governours
were not yet engaged in the League; to ga-
ther the money received for Taxes; and to
joyne with the Assistance of *England*, which
Queen *Elizabeth* had promised him, and
which could not be long absent.

He concluded on the last of these advices:
and so many of the Nobles who accompanied
him, desiring some time to go and refresh
themselves, he gave them leave. He sent a
part of his Troops into *Picardie*, under the
Conduct of the Duke of *Longueville*; another
into *Campaine*, under that of Marshal d'*Au-
mont*; and with three thousand French foot,
two Regiments of *Suisses*, and twelve hun-
dred horse only, which he kept with him, he
descended into *Normandy*.

The Duke of *Montpensier*, who was Gover-
nour there, came to joyne him with two
hundred Gentlemen, and fifteen hundred
Foot. Rolet Governour of *Pont d'Arche*,
a man of Courage and Spirit, brought him

the

the Keys of that place; demanding no other recompence but the honour to serve him. *Emer de Chastis*, a Commandadore of *Malta*, did the same with those of *Diepe*. After which, the King approached *Rouen*, where he believed to have some intelligence.

This Enterprize put him in extreame danger; but in revenge, gave him a fair occasion to acquist Glory, in retiring himself from so great a peril. See how it passed!

The Duke of *Mayenne* came to the succour of *Rouen* with all his forces, and passed the Rivers at *Vernon*. The King much astonished, retired to *Diepe*, and sends to the Duke of *Longueville* and *d'Autmont*, to return to him with diligence with their forces. The Duke in the mean time takes all the little places about *Diepe*, to inviron and invest himself with. In effect, he shuts him up so close, that if he had not amused himself by an untimely motion to go to *Bins* in *Hainault*, to confer with the Duke of *Pampluna*, he had in that disorder dissipated the greatest part of his little Army. He had already caused a report to be spread through *France*, and had writ with assurance to all strange Princes, That he held the King of *Navarre* (so he called him) shut up in a little corner, from whence he could not get, but either by yielding himself to him, or leaping into the Sea. The danger appeared so eminent, even to his most faithful ser-

Part II.

The Parliament at

Tours

counsel

him to as-

sociate the

Cardinal

of Bourbon

in the Roy-

alty.

Others

counsel

him to re-

tire to Eng-

land.

He derides

both one

and other

The Duke

of Mayenne

besieges

Diepe.

Batrail of

Arques.

yants, that the Parliament at Tours sent ex-
pressly to him a Master of Requests, propos-
ing as the only expedient they saw to save the
Estate, the associating him and the Cardinal
of Bourbon his Uncle in the Royalty; giving
to One the conduct of Civil Affairs, and the
Other of Martial. There were likewise the
greatest part of the Captains of his Army of
opinion, that leaving his Forces on shore, well
intrenched in their posts, he should as soon as
possible embark for England or for Rochel,
for fear lest if he should longer delay it, he
might be shut up by Sea as well as by Land.
To the Proposition of the Parliament, he
made answer, That he had taken such good
order, that the intrigues of the Duke of May-
enne could not deliver the Cardinal of Bourbon,
as they apprehended; and the Marshal of By-
ron so stoutly opposed those who counselled
him to embark, that they desisted.

It appeared soon after by the proof, that
the Forces of the League, which were thrice
as great as his, were not to be feared in pro-
portion to their number; and that the more
Commanders they had, the less their power
was to be doubted. The King was lodged at
the Castle d' Arques, which is seated on a little
Hill, to stop the passage of the Valley which
goes to Diepe. The Duke had formed a De-
signe to take this Post by Sea, by four or five
Reprises; and on divers days he essayed to as-
sault the Suburbs of Poles, and four or five
times was driven back. Our Henry daily
doing

doing wonders, and exposing himself so much, that once he thought he should have been surprized and encompassed by his Enemies. In fine, the Duke, having lost eleven days time, and a thousand or twelve hundred men, raised the Siege, and retired into Picardy.

The Duke raises the siege, retires, goes into Picardy, and

It was believed, that he passed into this Province upon a fear, lest the Picards, a free and honest people, but very simple, should permit themselves to be surprized by the Artifices of the Agents of Spain, who would engage them to cast themselves under the protection of the King their Master.

why, not

It was observed likewise, that that which hindered the success of his enterprize at Diepe, and which kept him two or three days without enterprizing any thing at the time he ought to have done it, was the jealousy and contentions between the Chiefs that accompanied him; particularly of the Marquis de Penthièvre, Son to the Duke of Lorraine, of the Duke of Nemours, and of Cavalier d'Armale: for they, believing the taking of the King infallible, or at least his slight assured, and disposing already of the Kingdom as of their Conquest, regarded one another with an Eye of jealousy, and each formed designs in his head to have the better part of it.

What hindered the success of his enterprize.

It was observed likewise, that in one of these Combats of Diepe, the Duke of Mayenne, having at present some advantage, had gained an entire Victory if he had advanced but a quarter of an hour quicker: but marching too

He knew not how to take his advantages.

slowly,

Part II slowly, he let slip that opportunity he could never redeem: which made the King, who well observed his fault, say, *If he did not in another manner, I shall be assured always to gain the Field*.

Th I have recounted these Particularities, because they make known the defaults of that great Body of the League: and the true causes which hindered its progress, and reduced it to nothing. I finde three principal ones.

The first, was the distrust which the Duke of Mayenne had of the Spaniards: for though he could not be without them, yet he could not but regard them as his secret Enemies; and they assisted him not for love of himself, but out of the designe they had to profit themselves out of the calamities of France. And therefore when they saw that he concurred not with them for their ends, and that he thought onely of his own advantage without theirs, they afforded him but feeble succour; in such manner, that they let him fall so low, that when they would themselves have done it, they could not raise him.

The second, was the jealousy of the Chiefs, who never agreed among themselves. They thought more of crossing and ruining one another, then of weakening their common Enemy; and confounded themselves in such manner by their divisions and partialities, that they were ever wanting in the greatest Enterprizes: whereas in the party of the King, there was onely

only one Chief, to whom all was reported, and by whose Orders all passed. Part II

The third, was the heaviness and dulness of the Duke of Mayenne, who at all times moved slowly. His Flatterers called this Gravity. This default proceeded principally from his nature; and was augmented not only by the mass of his Body, great and fat beyond all proportion, and which by consequence required a great deal of nourishment, and much sleep; but likewise from a coldness and numbness, which a certain malady he had contracted at Paris a little after the death of Henry the third, had reduced to a habitude in his Body; of which, say some, he would very unhandsomely rejoice.

The sloth and negligence of the Duke of Mayenne

King Henry the fourth was not of the same temper: for though he very much loved feasting; and to divert himself with his familiars when he had leisure; nevertheless when he had Affairs of War, or any other nature, he never sat at Table above a quarter of an hour; and never slept above two or three hours together: so that Pope Sixtus the fifth being well informed of his manner of living, and that of the Duke of Mayenne, confidently prognosticated, "That the Bearnois (for so he called him, as all the Leaguers did) could not fail to have the better of it, since he lay no longer time abed than the Duke of Mayenne sat at Table.

Great activity and vigilance of Henry 4.

"Officers and Servants form themselves after the example of their Masters: those of the Officers & servants resemble their masters.

the King were ready, chearful, vigilant; who executed his Commands so soon as they came out of his mouth; who took care of all, and gave him advice of all. On the contrary, those of the Duke were slow, negligent, idle; and who, upon whatever pressing occasion, would not loose any thing of their Ease and Diversifements.

It seemed to me that, for the better understanding our History, it was necessary to observe these Circumstances, which are absolutely essential, and very instructive.

This History recounts onely the chief affairs

We have particularized about the end of our first Part, who were the Chiefs of the League, and how that they held all the best Cities and richest Provinces of the Realm. I should never end, should I recount all the Factions, Fights, Enterprizes and Changes which happened in every Province for five or six years time. We shall follow onely the gross of Affairs, and behold how the Providence of God, and the incomparable Verue of our Henry, drew France out of its Labyrinth of Miseries, in such manner, that the Estate and Religion which should have been destroyed by an irrecoverable War, were both the one and the other miraculously saved, and re-flourished with as much happiness and glory as ever.

The Parisians made believe the King was taken.

Though the Duke of Mayenne was retired from before Diepe, yet the people were entirely perswaded that the King could not escape him; particularly the Parisians, whom the

the Dutchesse of Montpensier made believe by Paris & 7
 Courtiers on purpose, which she caused to ar-
 rive from day to day, Now that he demanded
 to yeild himself, Now that he was taken, and in
 fine, that he was conducting to Paris: Inso-
 much that there were many Ladies who filled
 windows in the street of St. Denis to see him
 pass by.

Whilst they amused themselves with those
 false Reports, they were much astonished to
 understand, that having received a Re-inforce-
 ment of four thousand English, he was now
 upon his march, and came directly to Paris.
 He had some Intelligences which promised
 him, that if he could gain the Suburbs, they
 would open him a way into the City. He assur-
 ed therefore those of St. Germain, St. Michol, He takes
 d, St. James, St. Marceau, and St. Vith, and the Fau-
 bourgs of
 carried them at unawares: but he could not St. Germain
 gain the Quarter of the University, as he had
 &c.
 pel, because his Cannon was not brought in
 time. About eight a Clock in the morning;
 on All-Saints-day, he entered the Suburbs of
 St. James, where he found the people to have
 no aversion for him: for he saw them not at
 frighted, nor despairingly fleeing; but look-
 ing out of their windows to regard him, and
 crying, *Vive le Roy*. And he used his advan-
 tage with a great Moderation; he forbade all
 sorts of Violences or Plunders, and gave or-
 der that Divine Service should be continued
 in such manner, that his people peaceably as-
 sisted at it with the Barges, whilst he having
 mounted

His mode-
 ration in
 this ren-
 counter.

Part II. mounted the Steeple of St. Germain, attentively considered what was done in the City.

The Dukes of Nemours & Mayenne post thither The King retires to Monilbery. That Evening the Duke of Nemours having posted thither with the Cavalry, and the Duke of Mayenne following on the morrow after with his Infantry, the King retired to Monilbery; but before-hand he drew up his Army in Battalia in the sight of Paris, and kept them four hours at their Arms, to make known to the Parisians the weakness of their Chiefs.

He takes Estampes, Vendosme, le Mans, & Alençon. After this, Estampes, Vendosme, le Mans, and Alençon, not able to sustain his presence and Arms, surrendered to him: and in the manner things went, and as the Chiefs of the League defended themselves, he had without doubt re-conquered the whole Realm in less

Want of money stops his progress. then fifteen months, if he had not wanted money: this only default, retarded the course of his Prosperities. The Ransoms imposed on Cities reduced by force, all that he could borrow, and the money he could raise by Taxes, did not half suffice to keep his

In what manner he made his Troops subsist. Troops in a Body. For this reason he was constrained for four or five years space, to make War in an extraordinary manner. When his Troops had served some months, and consumed beside their pay all they had foraged in their Quarters, he sent them home, as well to refresh them, as to preserve their Country from the invasions of the League. In like manner, when the volunteer Gentlemen had spent that money they brought from other

other houses, he gave them leave to return, to endeavour to furnish themselves for another voyage; inviting them by his Example, to retrench the superfluous expence of Cloths and Equipage; & otherwise treating them with so much Civility and Courtesie, that he never wanted them in the most pressing occasions; for they returned the soonest possible, serving him, if we may so say, each his Quarter.

ESTOWT
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In the mean time, he fell all of a suddain upon Normandy, and almost wholly reduced it; took the Cities of *Dampfort*, *Salaise*, *Lisieux*, *Bayeux*, *Honfleur*; this last by a very bloody Siege: after his return from thence, he took likewise *Meulan* on the *Seine*, seven leagues off *Paris*, and laid Siege before *Dreux*.

He reduces
almost all
Normandy,
and be-
siegeth
Dreux.

At the noise of these Conquests, the Duke of *Mayenne* was obliged in reputation, to come forth of *Paris*, to assemble his Troops, and to receive, contrary to his inclination, fifteen hundred Lanciers, and five hundred Carabines, from the Duke of *Parma* Governor of the Low-Countries: these forces were Commanded by the Count *d'Egmont*.

After this Duke had regained several little places which incommodated *Paris* and the Country adjacent, he passed the *Seine* o'er the Bridges of *Mantes*, to go succour *Dreux*; imagining he might do it without hazarding any thing. The King, so soon as he had advi-
rice of his advance, raises his siege, but with an intent to fight him; and came to this effect

The Duke
marches to
succour
Dreux.

The King
advances
to fight
him.

to

liam

Part II. to lodge at *Nonantun*, on the passage of the River of *Eure*.

Two reasons oblige him to it.

Two things principally obliged him to that resolution of giving him battail: the one, because wanting money, he could not long keep his Troops in the body of an Army; and had he led them into *Normandy*, he should unprofitably have spent all the revenue of that Province, which alone he valued above all others he held. The other, because he perceived so great a rejoycing throughout all his Army, who seemed to leap for joy, when they were told they should go to find out their enemy; demonstrating by their outward appearances, that a day of fighting should be unto them as a day of feasting.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not of opinion that he ought to engage his fortune and honour to the hazard of one day, especially considering the valour of the Kings forces, in comparison of his; the great experience, and incomparable vertue of that Prince: and with all this, his great fortune, which had already gained so great an ascendant over him, that he believed he could no better overcome him, then by avoyding encounters with him. But the reproaches of the *Parisians*, the instances of the Legat, which the Pope had sent to support the interests of the League; the *Spanish Cabal*, which on which side soever fortune turned it self, promised themselves great advantages from this battail; and in fine, the shame to have lost more then forty places

What causes engage the Duke of *Mayenne* to the Battail.

places in six months, without having endeavoured to succour any of them : led him as it were perforce to the relief of *Dreux* : and when he was so near it, the false advice he had, that the King retired towards the City of *Verneuil au Perche*, and the *Brayadoes* of the Count of *Egmont*, who boasted himself capable with his Troops alone to defeat the Army of the King, engaged him with an extraordinary diligence to pass the River of *Eure*, over the Bridge of *Tury*.

To speak truth, both the King and he were equally surpris'd : the King, to understand that he had so soon pass'd ; and the Duke, to see that the King, whom he believ'd to have taken the way towards *Verneuil*, came directly towards him : but now though they would, they could neither withdraw ; but of force must come to a battail, which happened on the fourteenth of *March*, neer the *Bourg* of *Tury*. Battail of
Tury,
March 14]

The Histories do at large declare the description of the field of the battail ; the order of both Armies, the Charges which the Battalions and Squadrons both on the one and the other side made, and the faults of the Chiefs of the League : We shall therefore speak nothing, but what concerns the person of our Prince.

His rare intelligence, his wonderful genius, Wonderful
and his indefatigable activity in the Mystery of intelli-
War, were all admired. It was wondred gence of
how he knew how to give orders without *Henry the*
fourth,
perplex-

Part II.

perplexing his intellectuals, but with as little Confusion as if he had been in his Cloſet; how he could know ſo perfectly to range his Troops; and how, having obſerved the enemies deſign, he could in a quarter of an hour change the whole order of his Army: How during the fight, he could be every where, take notice of every thing, and himſelf give orders, as if he had had a hundred eyes, and as many armes: The noiſe, confuſion, duſt and ſmoak, augmenting rather than troubling his judgement and knowledge.

His pray-
ers to God.

The Armies being ready to joyn, he liſted up his eyes to heaven; and joyning his hands, called God to witneſs of his intention, invoking his aſſiſtance, and praying that he would reduce the Rebels to an acknowledgement of him whom the order of Succeſſion had given them for Legitimate Sovereign: But Lord, ſaid he, if it pleaſeth thee to diſpoſe otherwiſe, or that I ſhould be of the number of thoſe Kings whom thou dedicateſt to thy anger, deprive me of my life with my Crown; conſent that I may this day fall a victim to thy holy will: let my death deliver France from the Calamities of War, and my blood be the laſt that ſhall be ſhed in this quarrel.

His exhortation to his Soldiers.

Immediately after, he cauſed to be given him his Habilitment for his head, on the top of which he had a plume of three white feathers; and having put it on, before he pulled down his Viziere, he told his Squadrons, My Companions, if you this day run my fortune,

I shall likewise run yours: I will overcome, or
 dye with you: let me only conjure you to keep
 your ranks; and if the heat of the Combat
 make you quit them, think as soon of rallying;
 it will be the gain of the Battail: you may do
 it between those three trees which you see there
 on high, on your right hand (they were three
 Pear-trees) and if you lose your Ensigns, Cor-
 ners, or Banners, lose not the sight of my white
 Feather, which you shall always find in the
 Road to Honor and Victory.

The Decision of the Battail having been a
 long time uncertain, was in the end favoura-
 ble to him. The Principal glory being due
 to himself alone, so much the more, because
 he Charged most impetuously on that formi-
 dable body commanded by the Count of
 Egmont; and that having entred that forest
 of Lances with his sword in his hand, ren-
 dred them useless, and constrained them to
 come to their short Arms; at which his had
 a great advantage, because the French are
 more agile and active then the Flemings; so
 that in less then a quarter of an hour, he
 pierced them, dissipated them, and put them
 to rout; the cause of the entire gain of the
 Battail.

The bat-
 tail won by
 the King.

Of sixteen thousand men which the Duke
 had, there were scarce four thousand saved.
 There remained above a thousand horse on
 the place with the Count of Egmont, four
 hundred prisoners of Note, and all the Infan-
 try; for the Lansquenets were all cut in pieces.

Great loss
 of the
 Leaguers.

Part II. They took all his Baggage, Cannon, Ensigns and Cornets; to wit, twenty Cornets of Cavalry, the white Cornet of the Duke, the Colonel of his *Reistres* or German horse, the great Standard of Count *Egmout*, and sixty Colours of foot.

The Duke of *Mayenne* escapes to *Mantes*, and thence to *Paris*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* behaved himself as valiantly as he ought, and many times endeavoured to make some rally; but in the end, for fear of being encompassed, he retired toward the Bridge of *Jury*; and having passed it, caused it to be broken down, to stop those pursued him; and so escaped to *Mantes*, and thence to *S. Denis*, and after to *Paris*. A part of the flyers took the same way with him, others took that of the Plain, and gained the City of *Chartres*.

The King too much exposes his person, which *Byron* freely remonstrates to him.

The King having engaged himself, during the defeat, among a Squadron of *Waloons*, was in great danger of his person; so that his Army for some time believed him dead: upon which the Marshal of *Byron*, accustomed to speak freely to him, and who had not at all fought, but had kept his quarter with a body of reserve, to hinder the rallying of the enemies, could not refrain from telling him; *Ab Sir, this is not just; you have this day done what Byron ought to do, and he only what the King ought to have done.*

This Remonstrance was approved by all those that heard it; and the Principal Chiefs took the liberty to entreat the King, not to expose any more his person; but to consider, that

that God had not destined him to be a Mus- Part II,
quetier, but to be King of *France*: that all
the armes of his subjects ought to fight for
him; but that they would all become lame
and benumbed, should they lose their head,
which gave them motion.

His Valour this day out-shone that of the
greatest of his Chieftains; but besides that, his
Clemency, his Generosity, and his Courtesie,
added a wonderful Splendor to his fair acti-
ons: and the manner with which he used his
victory, was a certain proof that he gained it
by his Conduct rather than fortune.

His Cle-
mency and
Generosi-
ty after the
Victory.

He chose rather to receive the Battalions
of the *Suisses* on Composition, then to cut
them in pieces, as he might have done: he re-
stored them their Ensigns, and caused them
to be reconducted into their Country, by his
Commissaries; by which he gained the affe-
ction of five little Catholick Cantons.

He had nothing more in his heart, then to
make his Subjects know, that he desired to
spare their blood, and that they had to do
with a mild and merciful King, and not with
a cruel and implacable enemy: he caused to
be proclaimed in the rout, *Save the French,*
and let your blows fall on the stranger. He took
to mercy all those which demanded quarter,
and saved them as much as he could from the
hands of the Souldiers flesh'd in the slaughter.
He treated the Prisoners, particularly the
Gentlemen, not only with humanity, but
likewise with courtesie: and he loaded with

Part II.
His Ac-
know-
ledge-
ments and
Justice.

A Noble
Action he
did.

honour, praises and thanks, all the Nobility which had fought for him; sharing with them the glory of the day, and giving them embraces, as earnest of those recompences they might expect from him when he should be in power.

I cannot forget one Action which he did, of wonderful goodness, and which was of wonderful efficacy to assure to him the hearts of his Officers and Gentlemen. Colonel *Thifche*, or *Theodoric of Schomberg*, commanding some Troops of *Reifters*, had been enforced the evening before the Battel, by the clamours of those Brutes, to demand of him those Musters were due to them; and to represent to him, that upon less Conditions they would not fight. The *Suiffes* and *Allemans* of that time, used often to act so; of which Histories furnish us with an hundred Examples. The King, much incensed at such a demand, answered him, *How, Colonel Thifche! is this done like a Man of Honour, to demand money when you ought to receive Orders for the Battel?* The Colonel retired much confused, without replying any thing. On the morrow, the King, having arranged his Troops, remembered that he had ill treated him; and thereupon, pressed forward by a motion which could finde no place but in a generous Soul, went to seek him, and told him, *Colonel, you see we are engaged in an occasion which obliges us to no long stay; but it is not just I should take away the Honour of so brave a Gentleman as your self: I declare*

claim therefore that I acknowledge you for an honest Man, and one incapable of committing any thing unworthy.

This said, he cordially embraced him; and the Colonel having the tears standing in his Eyes, with tenderness answered him, *Oh, Sir, by restoring me that Honour you had deprived me of, you deprive me of my Life; for I should be unworthy if I should not this day lay it down for your service: if I had a thousand, I would willingly spend them all at your feet.* In short, he was slain in this occasion; as were many other brave Gentlemen.

I will yet recount another worthy Action, which may admirably demonstrate how our Henry spared neither Civilities nor Carelesses to Gentlemen who served him well: At night, when he slept at the Castle of Rosny, being advertized that the Marshal d'Aumont came to render him an account of what he had done, he went forth to meet him; and having straitly embraced him, carried him in to supper, and made him sit at the Table, with these obliging words, *That there was great reason he should be at the feast, since he had so well served at his Nuptials.*

The terrour was so great in Paris after the loss of this Battel, that if the King had gone directly thither, there could no doubt have been made but they had received him without much difficulty. Some said, that it was the Marshal of Byron who diverted him; fearing lest afterwards, not having more need of him,

Another worthy Action.

What hindered the King to go directly to Paris.

Part II. he should consider him less. Others thought that it was the *Hugonot*-Ministers and Captains dissuaded him, because they feared lest he should accommodate with the *Parisians* for Religion; and therefore they counselled him rather to gain this great City by famine: which the Marquis *d' O*, at present Superintendant, pressed very strongly; to the end the King taking it by this way, might treat it as a conquered City, draw thence great Treasuries, seize the Rents of the *Hostel de Ville*, making Bankrupt of the Burgeses for the Debts of the King, which were very great.

Devilish counsel.

The widow of *Montpensier* amuses the people.

The Widow of *Montpensier*, one of the principal Organs of the League, who was accustomed to amuse the people with false News, could not plaister the mischief of the loss of this Battel, but by saying, *That truly the Duke had lost it, but that the Bearnois was dead.* The Burgeses believed it for five or six days; and this was enough to restrain their first fears, and to gain time to give Orders, and send to levy Succours on all sides.

The King departs from *Mantes*, takes some Cities, and goes to block up *Paris*.

After the Battel, the King, having stayed some days at *Mantes* by reason of the great Rains, re-took the Field, takes *Lagni*, *Provins*, *Motereau* and *Melun*, without permitting himself to be amused by the Propositions of Truce made him by *Villeroy*. After having in his passage attempted the City of *Sens* with little success, he came to block up *Paris*, and took all the Posts and Castles about it, where he lodged Garisons of Horse to beat the *Champagne*.

The

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not within; he had left the Duke of *Nemours* for Governour, and was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma* at *Conde* on the *Escar*, to demand of him some assistance in his necessity. He was in a great trouble, and in a just fear to loose *Paris*, whether he relieved it, or whether he permitted it to be taken; and that the rather, because that he saw well that if he brought in the *Spanish* Assistance, the *Sixteen* would serve themselves of that advantage again to raise up themselves, and possibly would out of despite to him, engage *Paris* under the *Spanish* Yoke. For these *Sixteen* loved him not at all, because he had broken up their Council of Forty, which bridled his Authority; and that to shew himself absolutely averse to a Republican Government, which they would have introduced, he had created another Council, a Keeper of the Seals, and four Secretaries of State; with which he governed Affairs, without calling them, except when he had need of money.

Besides this trouble, there happened to him another subject of inquietude, which was the decease of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who died at *Fontenay*, where he was guarded by the Lord de la *Boulay*. He had reason to fear, lest his death should give occasion to the *Spaniards* and to the *Sixteen* to demand the Creation of a King; and that they should press him so much, that in the necessity he had of their aid, he should be constrained to suffer it. In effect,

Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma*, and had left the Duke of *Nemours* at *Paris*.

The death of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* troubled him.

Part II. effect; this was the first Condition which the Agents of *Spain* proposed in the Treaty they held with him to give him Assistance: and he, out of fear to displease them, testified that he ardently wished the Convocation of the Estates to elect a King; and transferred the place of their assembly from the City of *Melun*, where he had assigned it; to that of *Paris*; that is to say, from a City which he had lost, to one which was besieged. In the mean time he employed his Friends with the Parliament and at the *Hôtel de Ville*, to keep to himself the quality of Lord-General: which being continued to him, he demonstrated that he feared nothing so much as the Estates, and endeavoured by all his power to hinder them; that which, to speak truth, compleated the ruine of his party.

The Spaniards at the Sixteen press him to make a King, as he assigns the Estates to Paris.

He keeps to himself the Title of Lieutenant-General.

disob. of
blo. ord.
Lanib.
mod. mod.
soldiers

Nemours takes order for the defence of Paris.

Paris being blocked up, the Legat and the Sixteen forgot nothing to encourage their people. They consulted their faculty of Theologie, and obtained what Resolutions they pleased against him they named the *Bearnois*. They caused many, both general and particular, Processions to be made; and the Officers received their Oath of Fidelity to the *Holy Union*: so it was they called the *League*.

At the same time the Duke of *Nemours* took great Order to put the City in a posture of Defence; and the Burgesses being for the most part perswaded, that if the King took it, he would establish Preaching, and abolish the Mass, were possessed with an extream ardour, and

and contributed all that was demanded, either Part II.
of their Purse or Labour, towards its Forti-
fication.

There is no finer passage in the Histories of
that time; then the Relation of this Siege, the
Orders which *Nemours* gave in the City, the
Garisons he established in divers quarters, the
Sallies he made for the first month, the Inven-
tions he used to animate the people, the En-
deavours and divers Practices of the Kings
Friends to bring him into the City, the Ne-
gotiations held in one part and the other to
essay a Treaty of Accommodation; how Pro-
visions diminished, how they sought means to
make them last, how notwithstanding all their
economy, the Famine was extream; and
how in the end, that great City being within
three or four days of utter perishing, was de-
livered by the Duke of *Parma*.

I shall observe onely some Particularities
very memorable. There were in *Paris* when
it was blocked up, onely two hundred thou-
sand persons; and there were of them near thir-
ty thousand of the Country-people there-
abouts, who had there refuged themselves;
and there were retired near one hundred
thousand of the natural Inhabitants: so that
in those times there were no more then three
hundred thousand Souls in *Paris*; whereas it
is now believed, that there are twice as ma-
ny.

Number of
the inha-
bitants of
Paris.

The King was made hope, that so soon as
the *Parisians* had for seven or eight days seen
the by famine.

It proved
not so easie
to take it
by famine.

Part II. the Granaries and Markets without Bread, the Butcheries without Meat, the Ports without Corn, Wine, and other Commodities with which the River is accustomed to be covered, they would go take their Chiefs by the throat, and constrain them to treat with them: or at least if a seditious humour did not so soon prompt them to it, Famine would force them in fifteen days. In effect, they had but five weeks Victuals, but they managed them carefully; and those who had said that, knew not well the people of *Paris*, for they are wonderfully patient: nor is there any extremity they are not capable to suffer, provided they have those know how to conduct them; and principally when they act for their Religion. It cannot be read without astonishment, how blinde was the Obedience, and how constant the Union of that fierce and indocile people, for four whole months of horrible Losses and Miseries. The Famine was so great, that the People eat even the Herbs that grew in the Ditches: Dogs, Cats, and Hides of Leather, were Food; and some have reported, that the *Lansquenets*, or Foot-souldiers, fed upon such Children as they could entrap.

The Hugonots would have it taken by force, but the King will not. The Hugonots, ravished with delight to hold that City blocked up which had done them so much mischief, insisted strongly in the Kings Council; and not onely cryed it there themselves, but made it be cryed aloud among the Souldiers, That it should be assaulted by lively force; and that in six hours it would so be-

become a desolate thing. But the good and Part II.
 wise King took no heed to follow those passion-
 ate counsels: he knew well, that they would
 take parts by force, that they might murder
 all, in revenge of the Massacres of *St. Barthe-
 lomew*. "And moreover, he considered that
 "he should lay desolate a City, the ruine of
 "which, like a wound struck in the heart,
 "might possibly prove mortal to all *France*:
 "That he should in one day dissipate the rich-
 "est, and almost the onely Treasure of his E-
 "state; and that no person would be benefit-
 "ed by it, but onely the simple Souldiery;
 "who, becoming insolent by so rich a booty,
 "would either overwhelm themselves in their
 "Delights, or as soon abandon him.

Those who within had taken the care of the
 Politick part, had committed a great fault in
 not putting forth the poor, popular and use-
 less mouths. The scarcity augmenting, they
 sought too late means to remedy it: but not
 finding any, they deputed some to the King,
 to gain permission of him to let a certain num-
 ber depart; who, hoping for this grace, were
 already assembled near the Gate of *St. Victor*,
 and had taken leave of their Friends and
 Neighbours with those Regrets which even
 rent asunder the Hearts of the most insen-
 sible.

The King was so good and merciful, that
 he permitted himself easily to yeild to grant
 them his Favour: but those of his Council op-
 posed it so strongly, that for fear to disgust
 them,

Useless
 mouths
 starve Pa-
 ris.

Part II.
Great Cle-
mency of
the King,
to let the
miserable
people go
forth.

them, he was at first constrained to send back these miserable People. His Clemency nevertheless could not for any long time suffer their violence: for having understood by many, who fearing death less then Famine, had leapt from the Walls, the pitiful estate of the City, and they having truly represented unto him what they had beheld of their horrible necessities, with the incredible obstinacy of the Leaguers; his heart was in such manner overburthened with grief, that the tears start out of his eyes; and having a little turned himself away, to conceal that emotion, he cast forth a great sigh, with these words:

His gene-
rous words.

O Lord, thou knowest who are the causes of this: but give me the means to save those, whom the obstinate malice of my enemies would make per-
ish.

In vain did the most averse of his Councel, and especially the Hugonots, represent to him that these Rebels merited no favour; he resolved to open a passage to the innocent. I wonder not at all, said he, if the Chiefs of the League, or if the Spaniards have so little compassion on those poor people: they are only Tyrants; but for myself, who am their Father and their King, I cannot bear the recital of these calamities, without being touched to the bottome of my soul, or without ardently desiring to remedy them. I cannot hinder those whom the fury of the League possesse, from perishing with it; but for those who implore my clemency, and who are only guilty of the Crimes of others,

I will stretch forth my armes to them. This said, **Paris** he commanded that they should permit those miserable people to depart. There were some who crawled, and others were faine to be carried. There came out at this time more then four thousand, who all with great and unanimous shouts, cryed out, *Long live the King.*

After that day, since they knew it offended him not, the Captains that kept the Guards let daily great bands escape, and likewise took the boldness to send victuals and refreshments to their friends, and to their ancient hosts, and particularly to the Ladies. *For Paris* being the common Country of the French, there are few people who love it not, and who have not there some gage of friendship, which forbids them from procuring its loss and utter ruine.

After the example of the Captains, the Souldiers licensed themselves to convey to them meat, bread, and barrels of wine over the walls; receiving in Exchange some rich goods at a vile price, and making themselves brave at the expences of the Merchants: that which these were in some manner constrained to tolerate, because the others had no money wherewith to pay them. This made *Paris* subsist near a month longer then it would have done: but it is almost impossible, but this should always happen in like occasions, as hath been seen not long time since. God be pleased for ever hereafter to preserve France from so great ills.

Those of the Army send victuals into

Paris.

Which makes them subsist.

Part II.

After all, the King knew certainly that that great City could not long subsist; and he desired to gain absolutely their hearts, to the end he might undermine the very foundations of the League. For this reason he combated their Obstinacy with an excess of Indulgence. He gave Passe-ports to the Scholars, not able to refuse them to their Parents who were with him; after, to the Ladies and to the Ecclesiasticks; and in the end, to those who had shewed themselves his most cruel enemies.

The King
takes all
the Su-
burbs in
one night.

In the mean time, to hasten a little the Chiefs of the League to come to a Capitulation, it was agreed in his Council that he should render himself master of the Suburbs. The evening of the 27. of July, he caused them all to be assaulted at once. They were forced in less then an hour, and all the gates blocked up; his Souldiers having first fortified their quarters, and thrown down the houses nearest the ditch.

By this last action he took the *Parisians* by the throats, and pressed them in such sort, that they could scarce breathe; for which cause their Chiefs apprehending that neither their defences, exhortations, or fear of punishments would be longer capable to retain them, concluded after ten or twelve deliberations, to enter into conference with the King; not out of a cordial intention to treat with him, but only to spin out things to a length, that they might give time to the Duke of *Mayenne* to make an attempt to succour them.

They

They received Intelligence from that Duke twice every week, and each time he promised them that he would be with them with a puissant Army in five or six days. Having fed them with these hopes for five or six weeks, he advanced in the end to *Meaux*, where *Vintimille* was Governour, and from thence gave them some greater hopes of relief: however, he was too weak to hazard it.

Part II.
The Duke of Mayenne advances to *Meaux*, but dares not relieve *Paris*.

The Duke of *Parma*, who had order from *Spain* to go joyn with him, and not to spare any thing for the relief of *Paris*, came with great unwillingness. He feared lest during his absence the Council or Cabinet should appoint a Successeur in his Government; and that he should loose more in the Low-Countries, then he should gain in *France*: Notwithstanding he received Commands so express, that he was constrained to obey. He parted therefore from *Valencienne* on the sixth of *August*, and arrived at *Meaux* on the two and twentieth. He brought along with him onely twelve thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; but Artillery and Ammunition, for an Army thrice as great; and fifteen hundred Waggons of Provisions to refresh *Paris*.

The Duke of *Parma* comes to joyn with him with an Army from the Low-countries.

He was without doubt the greatest Captain amongst strangers of the Age he lived, for all Exploits which depend on profound Reason, and judicious Conduct: he had so well laid the Model of his Designe in his Head, so well taken his Measures by the exactest Mapps of the Country, and so well meditated on all

He had so well contrived all things, that he was assured to raise the siege of *Paris*.

Part II. that could arrive him, and all that he could do, that he held himself assured of success.

The King never believed he would quit the Low-Countries. Those who were about the King, had always made him believe, that this Duke would not leave the Low-Countries; and said, That if he did either, that he could not raise so great a power as to dare engage in the heart of France; or that if he raised any great Army, he would not arrive time enough to deliver Paris. The King suffered himself to be a little carried away with these false Reasons: but when he understood he marched in this manner, he began already to fear that which arrived; and the danger appeared so much more, because he had less foreseen it. In these Apprehensions he was well content to

renew the Negotiation with the Duke of Mayenne, who on his side feigned to desire an Accommodation more then ever; to the end he might amuse him, for fear he should assault Paris by plain force; and to entertain the Parisians with the pregnant hopes of their Delivery: for the Famine made them despair in such manner, that it was no longer in his power, with all his inventions, to retain them from surrendering for more then five or six days at most.

When the Duke of Parma was within two days Journey of Meaux, he caused it to be signified to the King, That the Duke of Mayenne could no longer treat but conjoyntly with him. At present the Council of the King was much astonished, and in a great irresolution, not knowing what to do. It was without doubt

doubt a great shame for the King, and a notable diminishing of the Reputation of his Arms, to raise a Siege which had endured four months; and it must needs be a most sensible displeasure to this Prince, who was brave and glorious, to raise it on the Eve of the taking of that great City, the reduction of which had been a mortal wound to the League.

He had therefore but one course to take, but which was without doubt very hazardous; nevertheless the King resolved it: this was, to leave a part of his Troops in the Suburbs, and chuse a place of Battel, where the rest of the Army might make head against the Duke of Parma, and not raise the Siege. To this effect, the King, confirmed in it by the advice of *la Noue*, *Guitry*, and *Plessis Mornay*, left onely three thousand men on the side of the University, and put the rest of his Army in Battalia, in the Plain of *Bondy*, which was between *Paris* and the Duke of *Parma*.

But the Marshal of *Byron*, disanulling absolutely that counsel, wrought so far, that it was resolved to advance as far as *Cbelles* with intention to give Battel. It was not known whether he was carried to this advice either out of jealousy, because he had not given the first counsel; or because it seemed to him too dangerous to remain so near *Paris*, from whence there might sally fifteen or sixteen thousand men on the day of battel to charge them behind. However it were, his Authority was so great among the Men of War,

The King would take a place of battel, and not raise the siege.

Byron advises to raise the siege, and carries it.

Part II. And it was so dangerous in this Conjunction to contract that not spicing that they were forced to believe him, and absolutely raise the Siege to go encamp at Chelles.

The Duke of Parma seeing that, and judging it not convenient to fight, retrenched himself readily in a Marsh so well, that he feared not to be forced: he boasted likewise that the

King should not in that Post know how to force him to discharge one Pistol; and yet that he would take a City in his fight, and open a passage on the Rivers to send Provisions into Pa-

The Duke of Parma takes Lagny in the sight of the King, & relieves Paris. In sum, he executed punctually what he had said. It was not in the power of the King to oblige him to fight; and he took Lagny on the *Marne*, whilst he was not able to relieve it. Thus Paris was absolutely deliver'd, receiving on the morrow a very great quantity of Boats, laden with all sorts of Provisions. Yet their Joy was not equal to their Comfort: for their too long Misery had in such manner weakened their Bodies, and suppress their Courages, that they were not capable of any sentiments of rejoycing.

The Troops of the Duke of Nemours having regained heart by this refreshment, sallied daily with the most couragious of the Burgeses, and cut off all Provisions from the Kings Camp; in such manner, that a little Scarcity being got amongst them, Sicknesses began to multiply; and the Gentlemen who had flock'd thither out of the hopes of a Batle, began to grow impatient; which the King seeing, assem-
bled

bled his Council to seek some remedy to these inconveniences. He found, that throughout his whole Army there were very ill dispositions; and that he had better make a Retreat, then expose himself to greater Affronts: but being loth to quit the Enterprize of *Brie*, he tried in passing to carry it by storm on the University-tides, between the Castles of *St. James* and *St. Marceau*: which having done in vain, he retired to *Senlis*, and thence to *Creil*. In the end, not able to do better, he took *Clervaux* in *Beauvoisis*, which incommodated *Senlis* and *Compeigne*. Afterwards he put a part of his Troops in the Cities about *Paris*, sent another into the Provinces, to re-assure them in their Obedience; and kept onely with himself a flying Army.

So soon as he was retired, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayerne* enlarged themselves in the *Bris* *Parma*, instantly sollicitied by the Leaguers, belieged *Corbeil*: he thought to take it in four or five days, but he lay before it a whole month, through the Duke of *Mayerne*'s fault; who either out of neglect or jealousy furnished him with Ammunition but by little and little. So that seeing his Army much diminished, and the rest licentiate themselves to all Disorders, after the Example of the French Souldiers, he returned to *Flanders*, much discontented with the Conduct of the French Nation, whom he had found (as he said) inconstant and volatile; full of Fear, lovesies and Divisions; insatiable and ingrateful.

The Army of the King constrained to separate.

Duke of Parma besieges Corbeil, and takes it.

He returns to Flanders.

Part II. *ful.* His vexatious Melancholy sure made him say so.

Corbeil re-
gained by
storm.

Before his departure, he had the displeasure to hear of the loss of *Corbeil*, which had cost him so much. *Givry*, Governour of *Brie* for the King, re-gained it in one night by storm: and the League, whatever instances they made to him, could not oblige the Duke of *Parma* to stay in *France* till they had re-taken it. He left them onely eight thousand Men of his, promising to return at the Spring with a greater Army, and counselling them in the mean time to amuse the King by Treaties of Peace until the next *Campagne*: a Counsel which the Duke of *Mayenne* was not wanting to follow; which kept many Cities to his party, were ready to abandon him.

The expedition of the Duke of *Parma* into *France*, retarded much the Affairs of the King, but advanced not at all those of the Duke of *Mayenne*: on the contrary, it embroiled them, and begat those dispositions which in the end ruined them. For the Duke of *Parma*, knowing the defaults of the Duke of *Mayenne*, represented to the Council of *Spain*, That he was very improper for the advancement of their interests, being both too weak, and having too little Authority to keep in Unity so great a Party; too jealous, too slow, and too idle to give order in all things: that therefore it was necessary that the King of *Spain* should take care of the League, and become absolute Master of it. That to this effect he should gain

The Duke
of *Parma*
counsels
the King of
Spain to
become
chief Ma-
ster of the
League.

gain the Ecclesiasticks; and the people of the great Cities; who having a great desire to see the Estate of the Government changed, because under the last Kings it had been very oppressive to the people, would be easily induced either to joyn the Cities together in form of *Cantons*, or make a King, whose power should be so limited, that he could never weaken them, either by Taxes or by Arms, as the two last Kings had done.

In effect, the King of *Spain*, finding this way most commodious to his designs, and thinking by it to change *France* into a Republick, on make a King who should onely subsist by him; considered no longer the Duke of *Mayenne* so much as he had done, and assisted him but weakly, and endeavoured to create factions among the great Cities, and particularly that of the *Sixteen* at *Paris*, not sparing any money: so that many believed he expended such great sums in this way, that had he had them out in raising Armies, he had conquered a good part of the *Realm*.

Now our *Henry* considering his designs, laboured on his part to frustrate them. And first, as to the Duke of *Mayenne*, he flattered him with Kindnesses and many good Treatments; which he did for two ends; to wit, to essay to gain him, and likewise to render him more suspected to the *Spaniards*. To the same effect he endeavoured to augment in him the disgust he already had for that Nation; and withal, promised him great Advantages if

The King of *Spain* no longer considers the Duke of *Mayenne*, but thinks to render himself Master of the great Cities by factions.

The King endeavours to regain the Duke.

Part. III he would accommodate with him. By these means he daily a little restrained him, cool'd his ardour, and hindered him from carrying things to extremities. And as for the people, knowing that it was the ill Government of his Predecessor which had altered their Affections, and had furnished them with the pretext and occasion of the League to cause their emperments, he omitted no diligence nor no goodness which might reduce them sweetly to their Duty.

He endeavours likewise to regain the people's

The King
on the 20
of June
1601
the Duke
of
Buckingham
was
executed
for
treason
against
the King
and
the
State.

Three
means by
which Hen-
ry 3. Most
the effecti-
on of his
subjects.
His negli-
gence and
inapplica-
tion.

This good King considered, that to the recovery of a diseased, it is necessary that the causes be taken away; and that to this purpose he was to correct and sweeten the ill humours which had put the Estate into this extremity. His sight of it had likewise made him know, that three things principally had rendered his Predecessor odious and contemptible. The first, was his softness and faint-heartedness; which made him, in stead of employing those fair Talents which God had given him to rule in his Estate and act in the functions of a King; to neglect to apply to himself, and not take sufficiently to heart the conduct of his Affairs, but addict himself wholly to his pleasures. As if Royalty, which is the greatest and most eminent of all things here below, were onely a vain diversion, or as if God had made Kings onely for the love of themselves, and not for his glory, and the common good of men.

The

Part II. He acted continually not onely in the Field, and
 gained the esteem and affection of his Subjects
 in matters of War, but in his Cabinet by his
 deliberations of important Affairs, by his
 Negotiations, by the order and distribution
 of his Revenues, by his dispensation of his
 Charges and Employments, by his know-
 ledge of the principal Laws, the order and
 policy of his Realm; and in fine, in all his
 Actions, like one who contents himself not
 with the name of a King, but would be one
 in effect. He would have faithful Ministers,
 but would have no Companions. He com-
 mitted to them the care of his Affairs in such
 manner, that he still remained the absolute
 Master, and they the servants. He loved
 them tenderly, as it was just, and used a
 great familiarity with them; but yet per-
 mitted them not to be wanting either in
 submission or respect. If he took their coun-
 sel, it was by form of advice; and he obli-
 ged them much oftner by reason to follow
 his, then he followed theirs. He honoured
 them with his Graces and with Benefits, but
 in proportion and measure: he gave them
 not all to one alone, or to two or three; but
 like a common Father, distributed his re-
 compenses to all those he judged worthy;
 and he would that they should receive them
 from his hands, and not from others; for he
 knew that to give and do good is the most
 glorious Attribute of Sovereignty, which
 ought not to be communicated to any per-
 son.

His activi-
 ty and
 greatness
 of soul.

In

" In the second place, he took a most par- Part II.
 " ticular care to cause his Revenues to be His care of
 " well administred: to which, four motives his Reve-
 " obliged him. The first, because he was na- nues.
 " turally, though not covetous, yet a good
 " husband, and one who hated profuseness.
 " The second, because he loved his people,
 " and would spare them the most he could
 " possibly; for he made conscience of draw-
 " ing money out of their purses, except up-
 " on most necessary occasions; and there-
 " fore he never kept near him any of those
 " blood-suckers of the Court, who draw all
 " to their Coffers, and who never care from
 " whence it comes, so that they have it.
 " The third, because the necessity he had often
 " been in, had made him know the value and
 " need of money; and that it was good to
 " manage it well, because hard to recover it.
 " And the fourth, because not having been
 " bred up ignorant in affairs, as too often
 " Princes are, he had been well inform-
 " ed that the greatest part of those ills
 " which had afflicted France, proceeded from
 " the ill administration of publick monies.
 " And therefore among all the cares he took
 " to govern well his Estates, he had none greater
 " nor more continual, then that of ordering
 " well his Revenues, and to clear this matter.
 " The Superintendants had imbroyled and
 " perplexed them with an hundred thousand
 " knots, so that they could neither be loosned
 " nor distinguished; and they had acted in such
 " manner,

Part II. manner, that this management, as a Treasurer of that time said, was a kind of Black Art, where nothing could be seen; so that thus the goods of the Prince and the blood of the poor people remained ever at their discretion.

Francis
d'O Superintendant of the Revenues, a great expender.

The King constrained to suffer him in this charge, but pares his nailes.

He who at present had care of the Revenues, was a Norman Gentleman, named *Francis d'O*, who had been Superintendant since the time of Henry the third. This man, to speak the truth, was horribly prodigal in all sorts of Expences; his profuseness rendered him more ingenious and more subtil to find out new inventions to grasp the substance of the people, even to their very marrow; and to perplex more and more the order of the Revenues, to the end it might not be discovered what spoil he made. Now though the King knew him well for such as he was, nevertheless, because he had a strong Cabal with the Minions and Seryants of the Defunct Henry the third, who acted the parts of zealous Catholicks, he was constrained to suffer him in that charge, expecting while his affairs were in a better Estate. In the mean time, to give a check to his insatiable Covetousness; he by little and little himself took knowledge of the management of his monies; and sweetly introduced some orders, now by one means, and then by another, so that he knew in time how to bridle him; and reduced things in such manner, that he could take but little in comparison of what he had done before.

It will be superfluous to tell with what Part His Nobleness and what freedom our *Henry* acted with all the world. "We may see through the whole course of his life, that his very enemies had more confidence in his word along, then in the writings of all others. He used much prudence in all his conduct; but he used no deceit, cunning, or artifice. The Prudent man never walkes, but by wayes straight and vertuous; and the cunning man, on the contrary, by paths oblique and wicked. The Prudent cannot but be generous and good; whilst the other cannot but be base, deceitful, and unworthy. Now it is certain, that all the life of this great King was nothing but generosity, goodness, sweetness, and clemency; having a wonderful inclination to oblige all sorts of persons; at least with kindneses, embraces, and sweet words, when he had no other means: he acknowledged the least services, when he could do it: he shewed himself easie and affable to all the world, familiar to his Souldiers, pitiful to the Country people; so that he would often excuse himself to them when occasion presented, for the evils they suffered; protesting, that he was not the cause of them, but desired ardently that peace which *Jesus Christ* recommended to *Christians*; and that it was his enemies which forced him to make that War, which of himself he detested, as the source and fountain of all crimes and miseries.

His constant keeping his word, and freedom.

His good-ness, browl

His good-ness, browl

141
D
and

Part II. "miseries. There appeared in his countenance a certain alacrity, in his discourse a vivacity and particular Grace of Spirit, in all his actions a resolution and promptitude which contented the most difficult, and animated the most frozen. Though he were yet a *Hugonot*, he spoke with respect of the Pope and of the Ecclesiasticks, treated the Great ones and Gentlemen as his Companions, and flattered them with the glory of being the right hand of his Estate, and the upholders of the Crown on his head. He scarce knew what vengeance was; his great heart was without any gall: he pardoned injuries, and likewise easily forgot them, so as he knew those that had committed them did repent, and were disposed to do good, or at least to do no more ill. It was with these Arms, rather than with his Sword, that he vanquished his cruellest enemies, that he forced the most obstinate and envenomed hearts to love him, and that of the most passionate *Leaguers*, he made his most faithful servants; esteeming it a procedure agreeing with the grandeur and goodness of a Sovereign, not to lose those he might gain; and to withdraw men from their faults, rather than ruine them in them. See here how he followed ways quite contrary to those his predecessor had taken.

He pardoned injuries, and never knew vengeance.

This reconquered his kingdom, rather than his sword.

1591.
Divisions
and Jea-

After the departure of the Duke of Parma: the two parties, that of the King, and that of the

the League, remained some time in great weakness; and both were equally tormented with that mischief of Divisions and Jealousies: but with this difference, that those on the Kings party were extinguished by his good conduct, and those of the League daily increased.

Part III
Jealousies in
the party
of the
League,
and that of
the King.

There was a furious jealousy between the Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Mayenne, brothers by the mothers side. Nor was it less between the Duke of Mayenne and the Duke of Lorraine; and greater much between the same and the Spaniards, who raised a thousand traverses against him, by means of the Sixteen: for as he could not suffer them for Companions, they could not suffer him as Master; but desired above all things, that the League had another Chief then he.

In the party of the King, there was likewise three or four factions. The first, of the rigid and obstinate Hugonots, who would not that the King should speak of permitting himself to be instructed; threatening to abandon him, if he thought of it; and to this effect, observing him continually, and as it were counting all his footsteps. The second, that of the Catholics, who were zealous, or who feigned to be so; these endeavoured to draw him from the Hugonots, and murmured when he either gave them charges or employments, or entertained them particularly. The third was that of the Servants and Courtiers of Henry the third, whom the humour of our Henry displeased,

In the party of the King, three factions of Hugonots, Catholics, and Servants of Henry the third.

The King
the money
the King

Part II. displeased, because he gave them not all they would, and permitted himself not to be led by their fancy. These were for the most part Arceists, and Libertines; nevertheless communicated with the Catholics, and caused much inquietude to the King.

Of these two last factions joyned together, was a third party formed. Charles Cardinal of Bourbon, who was called Cardinal of Vendosme, whilst the old Cardinal of Bourbon lived, was the Chief of it: This Prince, vain and ambitious, imagining that the Crown would be conferred on him, if his Couzen Henry the fourth should be excluded, stirred up the Catholics to press his Conversion, out of the belief he had that the Conscience of that King, and his affairs not being yet disposed, he could not hearken to it; and would by consequent, by these heedless shifts, be taken for an obstinate Heretick, and oblige the Catholics to abandon him, and after turn on his side. This faction was the most dangerous affair that ever our Henry had to deal with, though he seemed to despise it, and called those who were of it, *les Tiercelets*, or *the Thirdlings*. It shone not out with an unmasked face, nor did ever openly separate it self from the other; yet for that it self it was the more to be feared; but it produced in the end that good, that he was constrained to let himself be instructed, and wrought to his Conversion.

The Hugonots sollicite the

As for the Hugonots, when they saw that he lent an ear to the Catholic Doctors, they advised

vised with themselves, to the end they might entangle him so that he could not escape them; that they ought puissantly to sollicit Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant Princes of Germany, to send him great forces; by whose help they believed they might overcome the League, after which there was no need of his Conversion, and in the mean time they would continually keep him as it were besieged by those strangers forces. In effect, Elizabeth, who had zeal for the Protestant religion, interested her self very strongly in the cause of this King, daily generously assisted him, and strenuously sollicitated the German Princes to concur with her.

Part II.
Protestants
to send
Henry 4.
powerful
assistance
to hinder
him from
turning
Catholic.

only to
conquer
direct 200
only order
to have
Alms
best at

An Edict
granted to
the Hugonots.

Death of
Pope
Sixtus 5.

At the same time the Hugonots pressed with all their force, that he would grant them an Edict for the Free exercise of their Religion: they pursued it so strongly, that he was forced to accord it them; and they sent it to the Parliament sitting at Tours, but they could never obtain it to be confirmed by them, but with these words, *by proviso only*: shewing themselves as much enemies to this false Religion, as they were to the factions of the League.

During this time, Pope Sixtus 5. died, leaving in the Treasury of the Church Five Millions of gold, which he had heaped up. He was much disgusted at the League, and stretched forth his armes as much as he could to our Henry, to recal him into the Church; whilst the League endeavoured to shut the

L

gates

Part II. gates against him, that they might exclude him from his Royalty. To *Sixtus* succeeded *Urban 7.* who held the Seat only thirteen daies: and to that *Urban*, *Gregory the 14.* who being of a violent spirit, and a *Spaniard* by inclination, zealously embraced the party of the League, as we shall see hereafter.

Enterprize of the League. on *S. Denis*, where the Cavalier *d' Aumale* is killed.

Enterprize of the King on *Paris*, called the battail of the Flour.

I silently pass over divers enterprizes made both by one party and the other. The *Parisians* made one upon *St. Denis*. The Cavalier *d' Aumale*, one of their Chiefs, whom they called, *the Lion Rampant of the League*, was killed in the midst of the City, when he had made himself almost master of it. The King on his side, made an other attempt upon *Paris*. It was called the battail of the Flour, because he was to surprize the City, under pretext of a Convoy of Flour or Meal carried thither: but it was discovered, and obliged the Duke of *Mayenne*, upon the vehement cries of the *Sixteen*, to receive four thousand *Spaniards* into the Garrison; which retarded for more then a year the reduction of *Paris*.

It is convenient to understand, that neither the one nor the other party having any foundation to keep continually their Armies on foot, they only (as we may say) made War by intervals. When they had been three months together, they retired, and then re-assembled again; and according as they were stronger or weaker, made their enterprizes.

The

The King having Rendezvouized his, be-
 sieged the City of *Chartres*, where *la Bour-*
daisiere commanded. There was but a small
 Garrison within; yet however, the siege was
 long, difficult and bloody. Its length gave
 subject to the third party to continue many
 dangerous intrigues: but the taking of that
 place repressed them for some time. He re-
 stored the Government to *Cbiverni* Chan-
 cellour of *France*, who had had it before the
 League seized it.

Part II.
Chartres
 besieged
 and taken
 by the
 King.

After this, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who be-
 held himself in no very good Estate, follow-
 ing the Counsel of the Duke of *Parma*, re-
 newed a Conference for peace; which ending
 without doing any thing, the Princes *Lor-*
rains, and the Principal Chiefs of the League,
 held a general Assembly at *Reims*. It was re-
 solved that they being altogether too weak
 to resist the King, and wanting money, it was
 absolutely necessary to unite themselves more
 firmly with *Spain* then they had formerly
 done: and to this Effect, they dispatched the
 President *Janin* to *Philip* the second. This
 President was a man of a strong brain, and
 a good French-man, who laboured for the
 League, and for the Duke of *Mayenne*; but
 who would save the Estate by saving the Re-
 ligion: so that he well endeavoured to serve
 himself of the *Spaniard*; but he would not
 serve them, or procure their advancement.
 Yet we cannot doubt, but as he had his ends,
 they had likewise theirs; and that they de-
 signed

President
Janin
 sent to
Spain on
 the part of
 the League
 The *Spa-*
niards de-
 sign to
 profit
 themselves
 by the ru-
 ine of
France.

Part II. signed to make good their expences laid out for the League, on the Kingdom of France.

The Spaniard had for Aid and Second in his design, the new Pope Gregory the 14. who yet went on more swiftly, and with more heat then he: for without having regard either to the Letters which *Monsieur de Luxembourg*, after Duke of Piney, writ to him on the part of the Princes and Catholick Lords which were in the Kings party; or to the submissions, and three humble Remonstrances made him by the Marquis of Pisany, who was there at Rome, deputed from them; he strenuously embraced the party of the League, entertained correspondence with the Sixteen, receiving Letters from them, and writing to them; and which is more, he prodigally wasted that treasure which *Sixtus 5.* had heaped up, to raise an Army of twelve thousand men, giving the Command to Count *Hercules Sfondrato* his Nephew, whom he made expressly Duke of *Montmarcian*, to authorize him the more by this new title. He accompanied this Army with a Monitory or Bull of Excommunication against the Prelates which followed the King, and sent it by *Marcelin Landriano* his Nuntio, with great quantity of Silver to the Sixteen of Paris, to be distributed among them, and the Chiefs of the Cabals in the great Cities.

Gregory 14.
sends an
Army to
the League.

And a Bull
of Excom-
munication
against
those Pre-
lates fol-
low the
King, and
money to
the Sixteen.

The Parliament at *Tours* having had advice of this Monitory, caused it to be torn by the hand of the Common Scavenger, and decreed

decreed an Arrest against the *Nuntio*. That Part II.
at *Paris*, on the contrary, annulled that Arrest,
as being, said they, by persons without power;
and commanded that the holy Father and his
Nuntio should be obeyed.

After all, these Bulls produced no great
effect at present; and the Cardinal of *Bour-*
bon tormented himself in vain, to make the
assembly of the Clergy which was held at
Chartres, declare against the Arrest at *Tours*.
Nor did the Army of the Pope do any great
exploits, but was almost quite dispersed, ere
it came to render any Service.

The same arrived not to those Troops the
King had caused to be raised in *Germany*, by
the Viscount of *Turenne*. They served the
King well in his affairs, and gained him no-
table advantages. In recompence, he honou-
red this Lord with the Staff of Marshal of
France; to render him the more capable to
Esouse *Charlotta de la Mark*, Dutchess of
Bouillon, and Sovereign Lady of *Sedan*: who
though a *Hugonot*, had been puissantly sought
to, both by friendship and force, by the Duke
of *Lorraine*, who desired to marry her to his
Eldest Son the Marquis *du Pont*. The King
made this Match, to oppose a man to the
Duke of *Lorraine*, who helped to sustain the
League. Of which the new Marshal acquit-
ted himself, having among other fair exploits
surprized *Stenay* the night preceding his
Nuptials.

Our Henry
well served
by the
Count of
Turenne.

The King had another great Captain in
And by the
Duke Les-
the *diguieres*.

Part II. the *Daulphinat*, which was *Lefdiguières*; who held that Country, having reduced the City of *Grenoble*; and who saved *Provence* for him, of which the Duke of *Savoy* thought to seize himself, and dismember that piece from the Crown. This Duke being Son-in-law to *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, the puissance of his Father-in-law had raised his Ambition and Courage, and made him forget that constant affection which his Predecessors have almost continually had for *France*, insomuch that they have held themselves much honoured to be Pensioners to our Kings. But the Conduct and Valour of *Lefdiguières* made him repent all his high designs, especially by the battails of *Esparon de Palieres*, and of *Pont-Charra*, where that Duke received as much loss as confusion.

He be-
comes pas-
sionate of
the fair
Gabriella.

About this time, our *Henry* conceived a passion for the Fair *Gabriella d'Estrees*; who was of a very noble house: and that passion by degrees grew so strong, that whilst she lived, she held the Principal place in his heart: so that after having had by her three or four Children, he had almost resolved to marry her, though he knew not how to do it, but by hazarding great troubles, and very dangerous difficulties. Having taken the City of *Noyon*, he gave the Government to Count *d'Estrees*, Father of this fair one; and a little after, gave him likewise the charge of Great Master of the Artillery, which had formerly been held by *John d'Estrees*, in the year 1550.

Not

Part II.

The Duke
of Guise
escapes
from prisonThe judi-
cious rea-
soning of
Hen. 4. on
his escape.

Not long after the Siege of *Nayon*, he understood the escape of the Duke of *Guise*, who after many other attempts, had got at high-noon out of the Castle of *Tours*, where he had been in prison since his fathers death. The News at first no less touched the King, then it surprized him: he feared this great Name of *Guise*, which had given him so much trouble; and he doubted lest this young Prince should re-ingross the love of the people, which his father had possessed to so high a pitch: he was troubled to have lost such a Gage, which might serve him in many things. However, after he had a little meditated, he diminished his apprehensions, and told those who were about him, "That he had more reason to rejoyce
"then he troubled; for of force it must hap-
"pen, that either the Duke of *Guise* must take
"his party; and that if he did so, he would
"treat him as his Parent and Kinsman: or
"that he must cast himself into the League;
"and then it would be impossible that the
"Duke of *Mayenne* and he could continue any
"long time without contending and becoming
"enemies.

This Prognostick was very true. The Duke of *Mayenne* having seen those Rejoycings which all the League testified at this News; the Bonfires made in the great Cities; those Actions of thanks which the Pope caused publicly to be rendred to God, and the hopes which the *Sixteen* conceived to see revived in this Prince the Protection and Qualities of his

Part II. Father, which they had idolatized: the Duke of Mayenne, I say, seeing all this, was struck with a very strong Jealousie: and though he sent him monies, with entreaties that they might have an Interview; yet notwithstanding he looked not upon him as a new renforce, but as a new subject of inquietude and trouble to him.

The Sixteen
lean to
the Duke of
Guise, and
would lose
Mayenne.

They write
to the King
of Spain.

They drive
the Cardi-
nal of Gon-
de, & many
others, from
Paris.

In effect, this young Prince immediately knit himself in firm bond with the Sixteen, and promised to take their protection. By this means, and by the help of the Spaniards, they emboldened themselves in such manner, that they resolved to loose the Duke of Mayenne, not ceasing to cry down his Conduct among the people. I have been assured, that there was some amongst them who writ a Letter to the King of Spain; by which they cast themselves into his Arms, and intreated him, if he would not reign over them, to give them a King of his Race, or to chuse a Son-in-law for his Daughter; whom they would receive with all Obedience and Fidelity. They advised themselves besides this, to make a new form of Oath for the League, which extended the Princes of the Blood; to the end they might oblige all suspected persons, who would not swear a thing so contrary to their thoughts, to depart out of the City, and to abandon their Goods to them. By this artifice, they drove away many persons; among others, the Cardinal of Gonde, Bishop of Paris, whom they had begun to hate, because that

that with some Clerks of the City, he honestly endeavoured to dispose the people in favour of the King. Part II.

There remained nothing now but to dissolve the Parliament, who watched them day and night, and stopt their Enterprizes. They had pursued the Condemnation of one named *Brigard*, because he had Correspondence with the Royalists; and the Parliament having pardoned him, they were so incensed, that the most passionate, by conspiracy amongst them, and by their private Authority having caused those of their faction to take arms, went to seize on the persons of the President *de Brisson*, and of *de Larcher*, and *de Tardiff*, Counsellours, whom they carried prisoners to the *Castelet*; and after some formalities, one of them pronounced against them the sentence of death: in execution of which, they caused them all three to be hanged at the window of the Chamber, and on the morrow to be carried to the ** Greve*, to the end they might move the people in their favour: but the greatest part abhorred so damnable an attempt; and even the most zealous of the party remained mute, nor knowing whether they ought to approve or blame it.

Yet there were some of these *Seigneurs* so determinate as to pass farther: they said, They must finish the Tragedy, and rid themselves of the Duke of *Mayenne*, if he came to Paris, he being at present at *Laon*: That after that, they might assure to themselves the City,

By a horrible attempt they caused to be hanged the President of *Brisson*, and two Counsellours.

*The publick place of execution in Paris.

Some would likewise kill the Duke of *Mayenne*, but want heart to do it.

Part II. City, elect a Chief who should depend of them, re-establish the Council of Forty which that Duke had abolished, and demand the Union of the great Cities. And certainly there was some appearance, that having the *Bastille*, of which *Bussy* was Governour, the common people and the Garison of *Spaniards* for them, that they might render themselves Masters of *Paris*, and afterwards treat at their pleasure, either with the King, or with the Duke of *Guise*, or with the *Spaniards*: but they wanted Resolution. In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* having been in two days doubt whether he should come to *Paris*, because he feared they would shut the Gates against him, at length comes with a warlike attendance; and seeing that the Parliament durst not attempt to make process against these people, he resolved, whatever might arrive, to chastise them himself; and thereupon, without form of Process, in his Cabinet, condemns nine to death. They could catch but four, whom he caused to be hanged in the *Louvre*; the other five saved themselves in *Flanders*. The most remarkable of these five, was *Bussy le Clerke*, who had been constrained to yeild the *Bastille* to the Dukes people. He was seen to lead a miserable life in the City of *Bruxels*; yet still to conserve his hatred against the French, even to the last gasp, which he breathed forth a little before the last Declaration of War between the two Crowns.

Upon this, the Duke comes to *Paris*, and hangs four; which quite quells the faction of the *Sixteen*.

This terrible blow having quite quelled the faction

faction of the *Sixteen*, the Duke made four Part II.
 Presidents of Parliament, there being now He makes
 none at all; for *Briffon* was remaining alone, four Presi-
 the rest being gone to *Tours*. "But he de- dents of
 monstrated by this, that he did not well un- Parliament
 derstand his own interests: for in my opi-
 nion, it is impossible that the Parliament and
 the Nobility should remain any long time
 separate from the King: nor can the force
 of a Party contrary to Royalty consist but
 only in two things, to wit, the People or
 the Souldiery.

So soon as the King had received the aid of 1592.
 England, and that of the Protestant Princes The King
 of Germany, he besieged the City of *Rouen*. besieges
 This was one of the most memorable Sieges of *Rouen*,
 that time. *Villars*, a Provincial Gentleman where *Vil-*
 who was Governour, did wonderful Actions. lars was
 The Duke of *Parma* came to his assistance, Governour
 having for that purpose joyned with the Duke of
Mayenne: but *Villars*, who feared that they
 would not come in time, and likewise that the
 Duke of *Mayenne* would deprive him of his
 Government if he entred the stronger into his
 place, endeavoured to relieve himself; and
 by a Sally, which we may almost call a Battel, Great and
 drove the Besiegers a good distance from the memorable
 Walls. The Dukes seeing that, and that he Sally.
 was no more pressed, retired; and *Parma*
 lodged his Troops about *de Rue* in *Pontbieu*.
 But two moneths after, *Villars* wanting Victu-
 als, and the Courage of the Burgesses slack-
 ning, he was constrained to write to them,
 that

Part II. that they should make haste to come and relieve him. The Dukes on so hot an advice, pressed, re-assembled their Troops in one day, repassed the *Soame*; and marching without Baggage, came more then thirty Leagues in four days, though there were on their way four Rivers to pass.

The King raises his Siege, and retires to *Pont de l'Arche*. Being arrived within a League of *Rouen*, they drew into Battalia, in a Valley on the side of *Dernetal*. The King, who was gone to *Diepe*, finding at his return his Army too much weakned to resist those within and without; raised the Siege, to his great discontent; and having at a Leagues distance attended them for twelve moneths space in Battail-array, he after retired to *Pont de l'Arche*. It was held by many, that had they pursued him, he could diffcilely have shunned either the fighting of a Battel, or the loosing of it: but the Duke of *Mayenne*, either out of the jealousy he had of the Duke of *Parma*, or for other Reasons, was obstinately of opinion, that it was necessary to take *Candebecc*, to open the mouth of the *Seine*, and bring provisions to *Rouen*. The Duke of *Parma* was forced to yeild to yeild to his advice. They took *Candebecc* in four and twenty hours: but *Parma* was wounded in the Arm with a Musquet-shot; and some days after, the Duke of *Mayenne* fell sick; so that both Generals were both at one time in their Litters.

The Army of the King increases, In the mean time, in five or six days, the Army of the King encreased by three thousand

sand Horse, and six thousand Infantry, which Part II.
 flocked to his assistance from the adjacent Pro- and he pur-
 vinces; so that he was stronger then his ene- sues the
 mies by near five thousand men. Now For- two Dukes.
 tune turned, he went to search them, and shut
 them up near to *Tuetot*, and cut off all provi-
 sions from them; so that they were constrained
 to dislodge by night, and go encamp near *Cau-*
debec. The two Generals being yet in bed, and *Byron* beats
 their Troops very much amazed, the Marshal up one
 of *Byron* beat up one Quarter; and in the end, quarter, but
 defeated their light-Horse. The Kings Infan- will not
 try prepared at the same time to charge the quite de-
Walloon-foot; which without doubt, in the feat them.
 fear they were in, would have demanded
 quarter: but *Byron* called them back, for fear,
 said he, lest they should engage themselves be-
 tween two quarters of the Enemies. It was be-
 lieved he did thus, that he might not finish the
 War where he had the principal Command.
 And see here a sufficient proof of it at another
 time. The Baron of *Byron* his Son, who was
 likewise afterwards Marshal, having demanded
 of him five hundred Horse, and as many Dra-
 goons, to go and invest the Duke of *Mayenne*,
 who was as it were in a trap; the Father see-
 ing in effect that this enterprize was infallible,
 regarding him with an angry look, told him
 swearing, * *How now, Villain, wouldst thou*
have us send to plant Cabbages for Byron?
 "From hence we may know how Wars come
 "to be of such continuance; it being for the
 "interest of their Chiefs to prolong them,
 "be-

He would
 continue
 the War.

* A French
 Proverb, as
 if he should
 say, wouldst
 thou have
 me ruine my
 own For-
 tune?

Part II. "because they finde in them their advantage,
 "in the same manner as Lawyers do theirs in
 "retarding a Process.

Some days after, the Duke of *Parma*, being recovered, re-called to minde all those inventions and all those stratagems which he had learnt by a long experience, and by profound meditation, to retire himself from so ill a condition. He found in the end no other way then to pass the River, and retreat in all haste towards *Paris*. He to this effect caused to be built two Forts, directly opposite to each other, on the banks of the *Seine*, with Redoubts which commanded on the Water, and greater ones on the outside, which looked towards the Army of the King. By the favour of these Forts, he passed in an obscure night both his Baggage, Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery, over Bridges of Boats, covered with Planks which he had made, to descend from *Rouen*; whilst the King, who in effect had perceived it too late, could not hinder him. So soon as he had passed, he took his march by the plains of *Neuf-bourg*, and made such haste, that in four days he arrived at *Pont de Charenton*, not having been able to sleep (as himself avowed afterwards) till he was come into *Brie*.

Afterwards he led back his Troops to the Low-Countries, covered with glory, for having the second time made a great King raise his Siege when there was least appearance; and having in his sight, deceiving his Vigilance and Diligence, passed a great River, or rather an arme

armie of the Sea, without his being able to Part II.
assault him.

This action was so gallant, that our Henry The King
could not refrain from wondring at it; admires
esteeming it more glorious then the gain of the action.
two battails. "Acknowledging that the
"chief work of a great Captain, was not
"so much to fight or overcome, as to do
"what he enterprizes without hazarding a
"combat.

We ought not forget how that the first
time that the Duke of Parma advanced to
the relief of Rouen, the King went to meet
him with a part of his Army as far as Aumale,
as well to hinder him from passing that little
River, as to take notice of him; and how with
four or five hundred Carabines only he stopt
for a long time all the enemies Army, by
three or four vigorous Charges. The Duke
of Parma believed not that the King was
there; not judging that he would hazard
his person in so dangerous a post, and with so
few forces: but so soon as he knew that him-
self was present, he caused all his Carabines
to give the Charge, sustained by his light-
horsemen. The King seeing his men so pressed,
gave two vigorous Charges, during which
they drew forth the greatest part of the
Baggage out of the Bourg: but all the body
of the Dukes Cavalry coming on, the King
lost many of his men, and himself ran great
danger of being slain, or taken prisoner; but
God permitted that he was only wounded

A noble
and dan-
gerous
action of
the King at
Aumale,
where he
saved his
Rere-
guard.

with

Part II. with a Pistol-shot, on the Reins, which had been mortal if the Bullet had had more force; but it pierced only his cloths and his shirt, and somewhat razed the skin. His valour and his good fortune, both equally contributed to draw him out of this péril, and to bring, after so sharp a check, both his person, and what remained of his Troops, into safety.

Grave
answer of
the Duke
of Parma's
concerning
the Kings
action.

The Duke of *Parma* admired this action; but prayed the Courage which our *Henry* had testified, more then his Prudence: for when he was demanded what he thought of this Retreat, he answered, "*That in effect it was very gallant; but for his part, he would never bring himself into a place where he should be forced to retire.*" This was tacitely to say, that a Prince and a General ought to secure themselves better. And so all the Kings faithful servants came the same evening to intreat him that he would spare his person, on which the safety of *France* depended. And the Queen of *England*, his most faithful friend, prayed him that he would preserve himself, and at least keep within the terms of a great Captain, who ought not to come to handy-strokes, but in the last extremity.

After the raising the siege of *Rouen*, the greatest part of the Kings Army passed into *Champagne*, in pursuit of the Duke of *Parma*, and laid siege before the City of *Espernay*, and took it. The Marshal of *Byron* was killed by a Faucon-shot, which carried away his head

as he was viewing the place. His eldest Son, Part II. who was named the Baron of *Byron*, as great a Captain as the Father, and much loved by the King, was a little after honoured with the same Charge of Marshal of *France*: but he lost his Head somewhat less gloriously than his Father.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and the Duke of *Parma* being parted ill satisfied one with the other, it was not difficult to renew the Conferences between the first and the Royalists: however, things were not yet ripe; there were some seeds sown, which some time after brought forth fruit: for the King consented that he would within six moneths permit himself to be instructed by those means which might not wrong either his Honour or his Conscience. He gave leave likewise to the Catholick Lords of his party, to depute some towards the Pope, to let him understand the duties he applyed himself to, and to intreat him to add his Authority; and that in the mean time, Peace should be dayly treated of.

Conferences renewed.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and his party demanded Conditions so advantageous, that they were ill resented; and, to speak truth, many things in this Conjunction did much trouble our *Henry*: that which most of all perplexed him, was, that the Duke of *Mayenne* violently pressed by the instances of the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by the remonstrances of those great Cities which took his party, and

The Duke of *Mayenne* calls the Estates to *Paris* to elect a King.

M

like-

Part II. likewise by the necessity of his Affairs, had called the Estates-General to *Paris* to proceed to the Nomination of a King.

The election of a King would have been the ruine of *Henry 4.* and *France.* Now this Nomination had been the indubitable ruine of *France*, and possibly caused the absolute expulsion of our *Henry*. For there was much appearance and likelyhood that all the Catholick Potentates of *Christendome* would have acknowledged that King whom the States should have elected; that the Clergy would have done the like; and that the Nobility and people, who followed not our *Henry* but because he had the Title of King, would not have made conscience to have quitted him, for another to whom the Estates had granted it.

Expedient which the King finds to hinder this election. To the end therefore he might hinder this mortal blow, he wisely advised with himself to propose a Conference of the Lords of his Party, with these pretended Estates. The Duke of *Mayenne* was well content with this Expedient, because he saw well that the King of *Spain* desired that he who should be elected, should espouse his Daughter *Isabella-Clara-Eugenie*; and thus the Election could not regard him, since he was married, and had Children; but likewise out of fear lest they should hearken to an acknowledgement of our *Henry*, he underhand stirred up some Doctors to say, That this Conference with a Heretick was unlawful; and by vertue of this advice, he wrought in such manner, that the Estates agreed they would not confer with him, neither

ther directly nor indirectly, touching his Establishment, nor touching the Doctrine of the Faith; but that they would confer with the Catholicks holding his party, for the good of Religion, and the publick Repose.

The Legat knowing well what this would come to, endeavoured with all his power to hinder the effect of this Deliberation of the Estates: but in the end, he was constrained to lend his hand to it. The Conference was then concluded; and the Deputies of one part and the other assembled at the Borough of *Surene*, near *Paris*. Part II.

The Estates were assembled in the month of *January*, in the year 1593. and sate in the great Hall of the *Louvre*. There were few Noble-men, a great number of Prelates, and a sufficient quantity of Deputies of the third Estate; but the most part Creatures of the Duke of *Mayenne*, or payed by the King of *Spain*. This Prince; desiring at any price soever to have the Crown for his Daughter, had destined to send a puissant Army into *France*, which should hasten the Resolutions of the Estates: but happily for our *Henry*, the incomparable Duke of *Parma* was dead, and the *Spaniard* had not in the Low-Countries any Captains capable of great things. The Count of *Mansfield* had order to lead his Troops; the Duke of *Mayenne* went to meet him. They re-took *Noyon*, but that was all: afterward they melted away, and became so weak, that not daring to pass any farther, they returned

Conference of *Surene*.

1593.
Estates of the League assemble at *Paris*.

Mansfield comes with a *Spanish* Army, takes *Noyon*, afterwards his Army dissipates.

Part II. into *Flanders*, where Prince *Maurice of Nassau* found them sufficient employment.

Byron raises the siege of *Selles* to relieve *Noyon*, but dares not attempt it:

which puffs up the Kings enemies.

Conspiracy to surprise his person.

The Duke of *Feria* brings a Letter to the States-General from the King of *Spain*.

During the Siege of *Noyon*, the young *Byron*, to whom the King had newly given the charge of Admiral, yeilded up by the Duke of *Espernon* in change for the Government of *Provence*, had besieged *Selles* in *Berry*, to take that Thorne out of the foot of the City of *Tours*. The King, perceiving that this paltry Town held him too long time, had called him thence to go and relieve *Noyon*; which notwithstanding he durst not enterprize. These little disgraces wonderfully puffed up the hearts of the Kings enemies, cool'd his friends, and emboldned the faction. The third party, who had kept under a covert, now began to move; and likewise a report ran, that there were some Catholicks who had conspired to seize the person of the King in *Mantes*, under colour of snatching him out of the hands of the *Hugonots*; and would carry him to *Mass* whether he would or not. He was so much affrighted at it, or feigned to be so, that he took the Field, gathered together his surest friends, and caused the *English* Forces to come and lodge in the Suburbs of *Limay*.

At the same time the Duke of *Feria*, Ambassador from the King of *Spain* to the States-General, arrived at *Paris*: he presented to them a very civil Letter on the part of his Master, and made them a large Speech, by which he exhorted them to expedite the naming of a King; offering them all assistance both of men

men and monies. In effect, the King of Spain Part II.
passionately desired the chusing of one, be-
cause, as we have said, he would give him in
marriage his Daughter *Isabella*, whom he sin-
gularly loved.

It was therefore now time that our *Henry* It was time
for the
King to
convert.
should either publish to the world that he
would persevere in his Religion without wa-
vering, in which case he must resolve on a
War, of which possibly he might never see the
end; or return into the bosome of the Catho-
lick Church.

The Spaniolized Leaguers feared above all
things this change, which would take from
them all pretext: the good *Catholicks* ardently
wished it; they onely feared lest his Conversion
should be feigned: the rigid *Hugonots* endea-
voured to divert him; threatning him with
the Judgements of God if he abandoned, said
they, the Evangelical Truth. But all Politi-
tians, both of the one and the other Religion,
counselled him not to delay it. They told
him, that of all Canons, the Canon of the Mass
would prove best to reduce the Cities of his
Kingdome; they besought him that he would
serve himself of it; and to their Prayers, they
added Threats to abandon him, and to retire
themselves, being wearied with consuming
themselves in his service for the Capricio of
some obstinate Preaching-Ministers, who hin-
dred him from embracing the Religion of his
Predecessors.

Part II.

Besides these humane Motives, God, who is never wanting to those who seek him with submission, cleared his understanding with his holy Lights, and rendred him capable to receive the saving instructions of the Catholick Prelates. This resolution taken, he immediately gives advice of it to the Deputies of the League in the Conference of *Surene*. It cannot be imagined how great was their astonishment, nor how the Duke of *Mayenne* was surprized: for they least of all expected to hear this News.

The Spaniards and Legat press the Estates to chuse a King.

The Spaniards and the Legat having advice that he was about to convert, pressed the Estates more vehemently to elect a King: and seeing that the *French* would not accept of any but one of their own Nation, they proposed that their King should name a *French* Prince, who should reign wholly and individually with the Infanta *Isabella*.

Grand arrest of the Parliament at *Paris* for the Salique Law.

When the Parliament understood this, and that the Estates were not averse to this Proposition; that great Body, though captive and dismembred, remembring its ancient Vigour, ordained, That Remonstrances should be made to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he should maintain the Fundamental Laws of the Estate, and that he should hinder the Crown, the Lieutenancy of which was committed to him, from being transferred to Strangers: moreover, declaring null all Treaties made or that should be made, which should be contrary to that Law of the Estate,

It

It was suspected that this Arrest was made by Collusion with the Duke of Mayenne; but Villeroy, the greatest States-man of the Kingdom, gave this Testimony for the Parliament, that it took the counsel from himself: Having no other Motives then those of Honour and Duty, as persons who would chuse rather to loose their lives then be wanting either of the one or the other, by conniving at the renversement of the Laws of the Realm, of which by their institution they are Protectors; and obliged to maintain them by the Oath given them at their Reception. These words are all very memorable.

Part II.
Advantageous testimony of Villeroy in favour of the Parliament.

The Vigour of this Arrest, made all those good French-men which were in Paris, and in the Estates, take heart; and at the same time the taking of Dreux, which the Kings Army forced, caused a great astonishment among the most passionate Leaguers. Nevertheless the Spaniards ceased not to pursue their designe. The Duke of Mayenne, thinking to stop their course, made excessive Demands before any proceed should be made to the election of a king: but that they might come to their point, they granted him all; and in the end, they declared that their King would name to the Estates the Duke of Guise, to whom he would give his Daughter in marriage, and all forces necessary to assure him the Crown, if they found it convenient to give him their Suffrages, and elect him.

The King takes Dreux

The Spaniards propose to the Estates to elect the Duke of Guise and their Infanta.

Part II.

The Duke
of Mayenne
enraged, &
his Wife
more,

He makes
truce with
the King.

His subtle
Argument
against the
Minister.

Never was man more astonished then the Duke of Mayenne, when he saw that he should be constrained to obey his Nephew, and that his Authority must end. His Wife yet more impatient then he, could not refrain from making appear her despite and jealousy; and rather then suffer that they should confer the Crown on this young Prince, she counselled her Husband to make peace with the King at any price whatsoever. He was in effect resolved to do all things rather then raise his Nephew above himself; and therefore he employed all sorts of means to hinder him; and to this purpose he concluded a Truce with the King, notwithstanding the oppositions of the Legat and Spaniards.

In pursuance of this Truce, the King came to St. Denis; where there met many Prelates and Doctors, by whose care he caused himself to be instructed. An Historian reports, that the King causing a Conference to be held before him between the Doctors of the one and the other Church, and hearing a Minister grant that one might be saved in the Religion of the Catholics, his Majesty breaking silence, and speaking to the Minister, *How!* said he, *do you agree that one may be saved in the Religion of these Gentlemen?* The Minister answering that he doubted it not, so that they lived well; the King very judiciously replied; *Prudence will that I should be of their Religion, and not of yours; because being of theirs, I may be saved both according to their opinion and yours; but being*

being of yours, I can be saved onely according to Part II.
 your opinion, but not according to theirs: Prudence therefore teaches me to follow the most assured. And thus after long instructions, in which he would amply be cleared in all his Doubts, he abjured his Errour, made profession of the Catholick Faith, and received Absolution in the Abby-Church of St. Denis, in the moneth of July, by the Ministry of Renaud de Beaune, Archbishop of Bourges.

He abjures
 his Errour,
 and be-
 comes a
 Catholick.

That Evening the whole Champaign between Paris and Pontoise was made shine with fires of Joy; and great number of Parisians, who had flocked to St. Denis to see this Ceremony, brought back an entire satisfaction, and fill'd the whole City with esteem and affection for the King; insomuch that they called him no longer *Bearnois*, but absolutely King.

The Estates of Paris sate no long time after. The Duke of Mayenne dismissed the Deputies, who the most part returned ill satisfied into their Provinces; where they served not a little to dispose them to reduce themselves under the Obedience of their Legitimate Sovereign.

The Duke
 of Mayenne
 dismisses
 the Estates

There rested now no other pretext to the League, except that the King had not received Absolution from St. Peter's Chair; that therefore he was not yet in the bounds of the Church, and that they could not acknowledge him until he was entred at the great Gate.

He

Part II.

The King
sends the
Duke of
Nevers to
Rome, to
have abso-
lution of
the Pope.

The Pope
shews him-
self very
difficult

1594.

The
League
falls in less
then a
year.

Meaux,
Aix, Lyons,
Orleans &
Bourges,
surrender
to the
King.

He had sent the Duke of *Nevers* to *Rome*, to Negotiate this affair with the Pope; who was very much incensed, that the Prelates of *France* had enterprized to absolve him, though they had not absolved him, but by provision, *ad Cautelam* only: for he said, that he alone had authority to restore a relapsed person, as having the only Sovereign power to bind and to loose; and for this cause, he appeared so difficult, nor could ever be bended, till he saw the party of the League quite overthrown.

Now since the life and actions of the King made it appear that his conversion was not feigned, the League having no other valuable pretext, was dug up, as we may so say, by the very foundation; so that before the end of the year, it fell to the ground, and there remained to it only a very small number of places in the utmost parts of the Realm, the other Chiefs not being willing to run to the end the fortune of the Duke of *Mayenne*. This Prince was very irresolute, and knew not what he ought to do, as well because of his natural slowness, as out of the regret he had to quit the Sovereign authority which he had in his hands, and out of fear likewise not to find safety with the King.

In the mean time, *Vitry* desiring to be the first should re-enter under his obedience, as he had been the first had separated from it, brought back the City of *Meaux*. The Count of *Carces* delivered that of *Aix* in *Provence*.

Lyon

Lyns surrendred of it self; of which the Duke of *Mayenne* was in part cause, by having endeavoured to make himself master of that City, and snatch it from the Duke of *Nemours*, his brother by the mothers side, who intended to establish a small Sovereignty in that Country. That he might compass his design, he had by secret contrivances made the Burgeses rise against that young Prince; so that they having seized of his person, had made him a prisoner in the Castle of *Pierre-Encise*. But he found that in this he more laboured for the King then for himself: for the Burgeses, who had made prisoners the Duke of *Nemours*, fearing lest the brothers should agree among themselves to their prejudice, treated secretly with Colonel *Alfonso d'Ornano*, Lientenant-General for the King in the *Daulphinat*, and being well fortified, took the White-scarfe, and cried, *Vive le Roy*. The Castle likewise returned to its duty, with the Cities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*. The reduction of *Paris* happened on the two and twentieth day of *March*. The Parliament, the Provost of the Merchants, and the Sheriffs, having disposed this great City, received the King, maugre the vain endeavours of some remnant of the faction of the *Sixteen*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone into *Picardy*; and *Brissac*, to whom he had confided the Government of *Paris* for some monthspast, having taken it from the Count of *Belin*, broke his faith with him; believing

Reduction
of *Paris*.

Part II. lieving he ought it rather to the King than him.

The King
anoointed
at Chartres.

The King had a little before caused himself to be anoointed at Chartres, with the Cruse of St. Martin of Tours. The City of Reims was yet in the hands of the League; but he would not longer defer his Coronation, because he knew that that Ceremony was absolutely necessary, to confirm to him the affection and respect of his people.

It was almost a
wonder
how he
became
master of
Paris.

It was almost a miracle, how that there being four or five thousand Spaniards Engarisoned in Paris, and ten or twelve thousand factious persons remaining of the Cabal of the Sixteen, who all cruelly hated the King, he could nevertheless render himself master of it, without striking stroak, or without shedding blood, except that of five or six Mutineers, who came into the streets to cry to Arms. His Troops having by intelligence seized on the gates, ramparts, and publick places, he entred triumphantly into the City by the new gate, by which Henry the third had unhappily fled six years before, and went directly to Nostredame, to hear Mass, and cause *Te Deum* to be sung: afterward he returned to the Louvre, where he found his Officers, and his Dinner ready; as if he had always remained there.

After Dinner he gave the *Spanisk* Garison a safe-Conduct, and a good Convoy, to conduct them as far as the tree of Guise in all security: for so those had desired, who brought

brought them into the City. The Garifon Part II. departed about three a Clock, the same day of his entrance, with twenty or thirty of the most obstinate Leaguers; who chose rather to follow strangers, then obey their Natural Prince. He would needs see them depart, and regarded them passing from a window by *St. Denis* gate: they all saluted him with their hats very low, and with a profound inclination: he returned the salutes to their Chiefs with great courtesie; adding these words, *Recommend me to your Master; go in a good hour, but return no more.*

He sees the Spanish Garifon depart; and what he saies to them.

The same day that he entred into *Paris*, the Cardinal *de Pelleve* Archbishop of *Sens*, a passionate Leaguer, expired in his Palace of *Sens*. The Cardinal of *Placentia*, Legat from the Pope, had safe-Conduct to retire home; but he died by the way. *Brissac*, for recompence had the Staff of Marshal, and a place of Honourable Counsellor to the Parliament: a favour very rare in that time. *D^r O* was re-placed in his government of *Paris*, which he had had under *Henry* the third: but he enjoyed it not long, dying soon after. That part of the Parliament which was at *Tours* was recalled, and that which was at *Paris* re-enabled (for it had been interdicted) and both re-united to serve conjoynly the King.

Parliament at *Tours* recalled to *Paris*.

By noon of that day on which our *Henry* entred *Paris*, the City was every where peaceable; the Burgeses in a moment grew familiar

The City rejoyce, and are peaceable.

Part II. familiar with the Souldiers, the Artificers worked in their shops: In a word, the Calme was so profound, that nothing interrupted it, but the Ringing of the bells, the Bonfires, and the Dances which were made through all the streets, even till midnight. It is certain, that that which caused this joy and wonderful tranquillity, was the great opinion which the people had conceived of the generous goodness of this Prince, and the Commands he gave for the orderly government of his Souldiers.

Two worthy actions of the King.

There were two actions which he did the same day he entred *Paris*, worthy observation, proceeding from an admirable Justice, Goodness, and Policy.

The one of Justice.

The first was, that he suffered the Baggage of *la Noue*, one of his principal Chiefs, to be Arrested at his entring into *Paris*, by the Sergeants, for the debts of his Father contracted in his service: and when *la Noue* went to complain to him of this insolence, he answered publicly: *La Noue, you must pay his debts, for I pay likewise those of mine.* "But after that, he took him apart, and gave him some precious stones, to engage to his creditors, in stead of the Baggage which they had seized. Was there ever a more wonderful goodness, or more exact Justice?

The other of Policy,

The second is, that the same evening he played at Cards with the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, who was of the house of *Guise*, and the most vehement Leagues of the Party.

What

What could be seen of more Policy? Part II.

After this reduction of *Paris*, the other Cities and their Governours hastened likewise to conclude their Treaties. *Villars* made his for *Rouen*; so gaining to himself the Government in chief of this City and Bailiwick, and that of the Country of *Caux*, with the charge of Admiral, which he was to take out of the hands of *Byron*, for that of Marshal of *France*, twelve hundred thousand Livres of present money, and sixty thousand Livres of pension. At the same time, or little after, *Montreuil* and *Abbeville* in *Picardy*, *Troyes* in *Champagne*, *Sens* and *Riom* in *Auvergne*, *Agen*, *Marmande*, and *Villeneuve d'Agnois* rendered themselves obedient; and their Governours had all they could demand of the King. The City of *Poitiers*, and the Country thereabouts, treated likewise by means of its principal Magistrates; and the Marquis of *Elbeuf*, Governour for the League, seeing he could not hinder the Revolution, permitted himself to be drawn in with them, and composed with the King, who left him the Government of that Province.

In the mean time, the Count *Mansfield* entered into *Picardy*, to endeavour to sustain the League, which was in a very low condition, and took *la Capelle*. The King in revenge laid siege to *Laon*, and took it by capitulation, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Duke of *Mayenne* to relieve it.

Balagny with his City of *Cambray*, renounced

Reduction
of *Rouen*,
Abbeville,
Troyes,
Sens, &c.

La Capelle
taken by
Mansfield
and *Laon*
by the
King

Balagny
turns to
the Kings

Part II.
party with
his City of
Cambrai.

Reduction
of Amiens,
Beauvais, &
Peronne.

The Duke
of Guise
compounds
with the
King.

And like-
wise the
Duke of
Lorraine.

The Duke
of Mayenne
remains
alone, and
retires into
Bourgogne.

ced likewise the League, and promised service to the King. He had called himself Sovereign of this City, and had held it from the time that Henry the thirds brother, (the Duke of Alençon) had usurped it from the Baron of Inchi, who in the great Rebellion of the Low-Countries, had quitted the obedience of Spain, to embrace his party. In like manner, the Cities of Beauvais and Peronne renounced the League, as did likewise that of Amiens, shaking off the yoke of the Duke of Anjou: There resting to that party in all Picardy, only Soissons, la Fere and Ham. And which was much more, the Duke of Guise shook off the Duke of Mayenne, and brought the Cities of Reims, Vitry, and Mezieres under the Kings obedience; who in recompence of it, gave him the Government of Provence, from which he was obliged to withdraw the Duke of Espernon, because the People, the Parliament, and the Nobility, had taken Arms against him.

The Duke of Lorraine likewise, who negotiated his peace by the intermission of Bassompierre, concluded it the twenty sixth of November. But neither the example of this Duke, chief of the house of Lorraine, nor the general revolution of that party, could oblige the Duke of Mayenne to withdraw himself from that danger, wherein he was ready to be overwhelmed: he could not abandon that fair title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown, but flattered himself with the hopes

hopes that the assistance of *Spain* might again give his affairs the upper hand. He was retired into his Government of *Bourgogne*, because that remained yet most entire to him; though to keep to himself *Dijon*, he was forced to make use of an odious cruelty, in cutting off the head of the Mayor, and another, who laboured to reduce it to the Kings service.

Now since it was the *Spaniards* who maintained him in his obstinacy, and who made War against the King in his name; it was proposed and agreed in the Council, to assault them with an open War; to the end that being employed at their own homes, they might lose the desire and leasure of coming to disquiet the King in his. For they not only assaulted him by force of Arms, and by practices which encouraged the people in Rebellion; but moreover they would have had his life, and endeavoured to murder him, by base and execrable waies. They contrived or favoured many conspiracies against his Sacred person, which were well discovered. Those two which made most noise, was that of one *Peter Barriere*, and that of *John Castel*.

The first was a Souldier aged about twenty seven years, who being discovered at *Melun*, in the year one thousand five hundred ninety three, as he sought the execution of his detestable blow, was condemned to have his right hand burned, holding the Knife with which he should have struck the King; after

1595.

The King declares war against the *Spaniards*.

Two attempts on his person,

Of *Peter Barriere*,

Part II. to have his flesh torn off with burning Pincers, and to be broken on the wheel alive.

and of The second was a young Scholar aged about eighteen years, son of a Merchant-Draper of Paris, keeping Shop before the Palace: this villain about the end of the year fifteen hundred ninety four, having thrust himself with the Courtiers into the Chamber of the fair Gabriella, where the King was, would have struck him with a Knife into the belly; but by good fortune the King then bowing to salute some one, the blow chanced on his face only, piercing his upper lip, and breaking a Tooth. It was not known for the present who had struck it: but the Count of Soissons seeing this young man affrighted, stopp'd him by the arme. He impudently confessed that he had given the blow, and maintained that he ought to do it. The Parliament condemned him to have his right hand burned, his flesh torn off with red-hot Pincers, and after to be torn in pieces by four horses: This detestable Parricide not shewing any sign of pain; so much had they imprinted in his spirit, that he would offer a Sacrifice acceptable to God, by taking out of the world a Prince relapsed and Excommunicate. The Father of this miserable villain was banished, his house before the Palace demolished, and a Pyramide erected in its place.

Jesuites
exiled
the king-
dom.

The Jesuites under whom this Miscreant had studied, were likewise accused for having instructed

instructed him with this pernicious Doctrine; Part II.
and they having many enemies, the Parli-
ament banished the whole Society out of the
Kingdom by the same Arrest of their Scholar.
Yet these Fathers were not wanting, not
withstanding that the times were contrary to
them, to labour to sustain their honour; but
wrote many things to justify themselves a-
gainst their charge. And truly those who were
not their enemies, did not at all believe the
Society culpable: so that some years after
the King revoked the decree of Parliament,
and recalled them, as we shall mention here-
after.

The success of the War declared against
Spain, was much different from that which
the King maintained against the League; and
made it apparent, "That it is another thing
to assault a stranger equal in puissance, over
whom nothing is to be gained but by force
of Arms, then to have to do with rebelli-
ous Subjects, and in ones proper Country,
where intrigues and intelligences make
more then one half of the enterprizes.

This year the Cities of *Beaune*, of *Auton*,
and of *Auxonne* reduced themselves under the
Kings obedience. Those of *Mascon* and
Auxerre were returned the year before. The
City of *Dijon* followed their example, and
fortified it self against the Castle which *By-
ron* went to besiege. But in the mean time
the Constable of *Castile* descended with a
great Army of *Millanols* into *Bourgongne*

Reduct'on
of *Beaune*,
Auxerre,
and *Dijon*,
&c.

Part II. by the French County, and passed the *Saone* at *Gray* with the Duke of *Moyenne*.

The King who was gone into that Country, had the assurance to advance as far as *Fountain-Franzoise*: it was there that with only fifteen hundred men, he made head against that great Army, and did an exploit of War scarce imaginable. *Villars*, *Oudart*, and *Sanfon*, two of the Principal Chiefs of the enemies Army, charged furiously on his Troops: *Villars* charged a body commanded by the Marshal of *Byron*, and *Sanfon* another on the side of it: they made them both give ground and retreat, flying within sight of that of the King. It was reported that *Villars* knowing he was there, so puissant is the name of a King, durst not assault him, but retired on the left hand: but *Sanfon* was not so happy; for the King having with him but one hundred horse, but all chosen Gentlemen of note, and mounted to advantage, with his sword in his hand mingled amongst them and cut them in pieces. *Sanfon* endeavouring to rally his people lost his life, by acquitting no small honour.

The King goes into *Bourgonne* against the Spanish Army.

Battail of *Fountain-Franzoise*,

where the King shews his valour; but is in danger of his life.

The King was in so great danger in this fight, that he said himself, "That in other occasions wherein he had been engaged, he had fought for Victory, but that in this he had fought for his Life."

The Spanish Army retire.

Having therefore made the Constable by this occasion see in what manner he was to act, he so much abashed his courage, that he durst enter-

enterprize nothing; but a little after, retired. Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* likewise despairing at such ill success, and not knowing longer where to hide his head, had resolved to retire to *Summerise* in *Savoy*; from whence he would send to demand safe-conduct into *Spain*, to give an account of his Actions to King *Philip* the second. But the goodness of the King

The Duke of *Mayenne* despairing, would retire into *Savoy*.

took care to divert him from this Precipice, and to lay open to him ways of accommodation. He to this effect sent to seek *Lignerac* his Confident; entertained him of the good will he always had for that Duke; testified to him, that he pitied him; and assured him, that he would be always disposed to receive him into his favour; permitting him to retire in all safety to *Chalons* on the *Saone*, till they could finish a Treaty of Accord.

The King hath pity of him, and offers him an accommodation, and place of retreat.

The Duke accepts this favour; and having understood that the Pope was disposed to receive the King into the Church, he demanded a general Truce for the rest of his party.

The greatest part of the Kings Council, who considered the Delays and Artifices which he had for six years used, having begun fifty Treaties without ever concluding any, advised that the King should grant him no intermission, but pursue him to the utmost. But the prudence and goodness of the King conformed not with this Sentiment, because he was not ignorant of two Maxims, which are most true ones: the one, That Kings may always when they please reduce the most rebellious

Part II. to their duty; the other, That it is very dangerous to make great persons despair, especially persons of the quality of the Duke of Mayenne. And for these Reasons, of his proper motion, contrary to the advice of his Council, he granted him a Truce. That which followed after, demonstrated well, that this sage Prince had more knowledge then all his Ministers; and how prejudicial it would have been to his interests to do the contrary.

In the mean time, of those three Cities which we have said remained to the League in *Picardy*, to wit, *La Fere*, *Ham* and *Soissons*, the Governour of the first, named *Colas*, had delivered it to the Spaniards; and *d'Orville* had done the same with *Ham*. However, this last remained not theirs; *Humieres*, one of the bravest Gentlemen of those times, came; and at the same hour so hotly assaulted it, that after a long and bloody defence, they were hewen in pieces: but *Humieres* was killed, and more then two hundred brave Gentlemen with him.

This loss did in such manner excite the indignation of the Loyal French against the Leaguers, that the greatest part of them despairing, fled into the Low Countries; and into *Spain*, where they found at first a favorable Reception, and good Employments; by which they did very great mischief to France. Amongst others was a valiant Captain named *Rosny*, who, imagining that they would extend their utmost rigour upon such, who not being

who are cut
in pieces at
Ham.

Humieres
killed.

Many Leaguers despairing,
cast themselves into
the Spaniards arms:

Amongst others,
Rosny, who
causeth the
taking of
Pauzens.

being Governours, had no places to buy their peace with, resolved to make the War so well, that the *Spaniards* should have cause to recompense him, or the King to redeem him.

This was he who inspired the Count of *Fuentenay* with the designe to besiege *Cambray* after he had forced *Catlet*, and who perswaded him to facilitate this great Enterprize to take *Dourlens* first, to the end the *French* might not bring an Army to relieve it. It was likewise by his counsel that *Fuentenay* went to meet the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshal of *Bouillon*, and the Admiral *Villars*, who came to the relief of *Dourlens*: that he fought them, and defeated them with a great slaughter of the *French* Nobility, and caused *Villars* to be slain in cold blood; one of the bravest men of his time. Afterwards returning to *Cambray*, he took it by Famine, and despoiled *Burgundy* of his pretended Principality.

But News most important and long time expected, comforted the King for these two great losses of *Dourlens* and *Cambray*: which was, that he received advice, that the holy Father, passing by all those difficulties which the *Spaniards* formed, had granted his Absolution on the sixteenth of September, by the Negotiation and pursuits of *d'Osat* and *de Perron*, his Procurers in the Court of Rome; who were afterwards, upon his Recommendation, honoured with Cardinal Caps.

After this, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having no more Excuses, nor more Hopes longer to subsist, makes his

Part II.
Treaty
with the
King.

AND
TREATY
BETWEEN
THE
KING
AND
THE
DUKE

Hath ad-
vantagious
Conditions

THE
DUKE
AND
THE
KING

He comes
to Mon-
ceaux to
salute the
King.

THE
DUKE
AND
THE
KING

THE
DUKE
AND
THE
KING

THE
DUKE
AND
THE
KING

list, resolved to treat. It was very late, and he could not well expect other than an utmost vigour, if the Generosity of the King had not been greater, than his obstinacy. It is most true, that the fair Gabriella, very officious to those who sued for his favour, and being at present in hopes to create her self friends and supports to come to the marriage of the King, to which she aspired, did not a little assist to obtain a most favourable Accommodation. Certainly the terms of the Edict which the King granted him, and the Conditions, are so honourable, that never Subject had greater Advantages from any King of France: but they had been greater, if that before his party had been so much ruined, he had treated for those great Cities who yet held him as their Chief, and whom by this means he might still have kept firm to his interests.

Some time after, he came to Monceaux to salute the King; who seeing him coming along an Alley where he was walking, advanced some paces towards him with all Alacrity and good Countenance possible; and thrice strachy embracing him, assured him, that he esteemed him so absolute a man of Honour, that he doubted not of his word; treating him with as much freedom, as if he had always been his most faithful servant. "The Duke surprized with his goodness, said at his departure, "That it was now onely that the King had "completely vanquished him. And he ever after as well remained in the duty of a most faith-

faithful Subject; as the King shewed himself a good Prince, and exact Observer of his word.

At the same time that this Duke had concluded his Treaty, and obtained an Edict from the King which confirmed it; the Duke of Nemours his Brother by the Mothers side, and who was called Marquis of St. Sorlin whilst the brave Duke of Nemours his elder Brother was living, by the means of his Mother, reconciled himself likewise to the King, and brought under his Obedience some little places which he yet held in *Lyonnois* and in *Forez*.

His elder Brother, one of the most noble and generous Courages was ever known, died the year before of a strange malady, which made him vomit through the mouth, and through all his pores, even to the last drop of his blood.

Were it that this malady happened to him out of his extream grief when he was shut up in the Castle of *Pierre-Encise*, to hear of the surrender of *Vienne*, which was his surest retreat; or were it caused by a sharp and scalding poison, reported to be given him by those who feared his resentment; he died without being married; and his younger Brother, of whom we speak, was Father to those *Messieurs de Nemours*, whose deaths we beheld in the years last past.

The Duke of *Joyeuse*, who after the death of his younger Brother slain in the Battel of *Villmar* near *Montauban*, had quitted his habit of Capuchin to make himself chief of the

The Duke of Nemours reconciled likewise.

His elder Brother died of a strange disease.

1596.
The Duke of Joyeuse makes his Treaty with the King.

Part II. League in Languedoc, and had maintained the City of Tolouse and the Neighbouring Countries on his party, took likewise this time to make his Accommodation, and obtained very favourable Conditions, by the means of Cardinal de Joyeuse his other Brother; among other things, he had the Staff of Marshal of France. The Lord of Boisdaupin had the same recompence, though he had no more then two little places in Mayne and Anjou; to wit, Sable and Castle-Gantier; the King granting him this good Treatment, rather in Consideration of his Person then his Places.

There were now no more to reduce, besides the Duke of Merceur and Marseilles. This City was governed by Charles de Casaux Consul, and by Lewis d' Aix the Viguier or Judge. As these two men were upon the point to deliver it to the Spaniards, a Burgess named Libertan, with a Band of his friends, caused the Inhabitants to rise against them; and having killed Casaux, and driven out Lewis d' Aix, put it in full Liberty under the Obedience of the King.

As for the Duke of Merceur, the King granted him a prolongation of the Truce, because he was not in capacity at present to go so soon to dispossess him of the rest of Brittany, being much hindered by the Siege of la Fert, where he was in person, and where he had made little progress in three or four months. Moreover, it happened when he least thought of it, that the Arch-Duke Albert, who commanded

The Duke
of Merceur
lost the
City of
Boisdaupin.

Reduction
of Marseilles
by the
English.

The King
grants a
truce to the
Duke of
Merceur.

Arch-Duke
Albert takes
Calais.

mind'd the Spanish Army, incited by the Part U. counsels of that Rasky of whom we have spoke, came to fall upon Calais; and that Rasky, who was a great Captain, having at first took the Forts of Ribban and Nieuile, the Spaniards forced the place on the 24 of April, and put all to the sword: A little after, the King took la Fere, which surrendered for want of Victuals. The Spaniards having made the Treaty, would have no Hostages from him; saying, "That they knew he was a generous Prince," and of good credit: a Testimony so much the more glorious for him, because coming from the mouth of his enemies.

Taking of
la Fere by
the King.

The grief which he had for the loss of Calais, was redoubled by that of the Cities of Guines and Ardres; which were likewise taken by the industry and valour of Rasky, who had done many such other exploits, if some months after he had not been killed, happily for France, at the Siege of Hain near to Gayn.

The Arch-
duke takes
likewise
Guines and
Ardres.

Now the noise of these four or five great losses received one upon another, cast some terror into the hearts of the people; and the Emisaries of Spain excited as much as they could new seeds of division in their spirits; serving themselves to that purpose of all sorts of pretexts, but above all, of that of the oppression of the people. Truly it was great; but it was caused by the pillages of War, and by the necessity of Affairs, rather than the Kings fault; who had no greater desire then to procure the ease of his Subjects, as we shall see.

This

Part II. This cast him into a great affliction and trouble, because he had no Treasure to continue the War; and he foresaw by the murmurs already excited, that if he crushed the people more, he should raise against himself a new tempest. In this trouble, he had recourse to that great Remedy accustomed to be practised when France is in danger; which is, the Convocation of the Estates: but because the pressing necessity gave him not time to assemble them in a full body, he called onely the chiefs of the Peers of his Estate, of the Prelates, and of the Nobility, with the Officers of Justice, and of the Revenues.

The King to have money, calls an assembly of the Chiefs to Rouen.

The manner of their sitting.

He desired that the Assembly should be held at Rouen, in the great Hall of the Abby of St. Owen: in the midst of which, he was seated in a Chair elevated in form of a Throne, with a Cloth and Canopy of Estate. On his sides were the Prelates and Lords; behinde, the four Secretaries of Estate; beneath him, the first Presidents of the sovereign Courts, and the Deputies of the Officers of Justice, and of the Revenues. He made his Overtures to them by a Speech worthy a true King; "who ought to believe that his Greatness and Authority consists not onely in an absolute power, but in the good of his Estate, and the safety of his people."

His Speech

If I should account it a glory (said he to them) to pass for an excellent Orator, I should have brought hither rather good words then good will: but

but my ambition tends to something higher then Part II.
 well speaking; I aspire to those glorious Titles of
 Redeemer and Restorer of France. Already, by the
 favour of Heaven; by the counsels of my faith-
 ful Servants; and by the sword of my brave and
 generous Nobility, (from which I distinguish not
 my Princes, the Quality of Gentleman being the
 fairest Title we possess) I have delivered it from
 Slavery and Ruine. I desire at present to re-
 sight it to its former force, and to its ancient
 splendour. Participate, my Subjects, in this se-
 cond glory, as you have participated in the first.
 I have not called you hither as my Predecessors
 have done, to oblige you blindly to approve my will:
 I have caused you to be assembled to receive your
 counsels; to believe them, to follow them; and,
 in a word, to put my self in Guardianship under
 your hands. This is a desire which seldome pos-
 sesses Kings grey-hair'd and victorious like my
 self: but the love I bear my Subjects, and the
 extreme desire I have to conserve my Estate,
 makes me finde all things facile and uncon-
 table.

The Assembly, moved even to the bottom of their hearts by such tender words, labour-
 ed with affection to finde wherewith to con-
 tinue the War: and to this effect they ordain-
 ed should be gathered one years payment of
 all Officers Salaries; and that for two years
 only there should be be imposed one Sol per li-
 vre on all which entred into walled Cities, ex-
 ceptonely for Corn; which is the nourish-
 ment

The Assem-
 bly grant
 money for
 the War.

Part II. ment of the poor. This last means caused much trouble in the Provinces beyond the Loire. But *Rafin*, whom the King had some months before made Superintendent, no less able than faithful, as we shall speak elsewhere, joyned to this stock a great sum of money which the Receivers had diverted; and which he made return to the Kings Officers.

King of Spain desires the peace.

In the mean time, the King of Spain finding the forces both of his body and mind to diminish by a languor, which after degenerated into a horrible malady, feared lest his weakness should cause Revolts in his Countries so distant one from the other. Moreover, he had expended his Revenues, and passionately desired to give the Low-Countries to his dearest Daughter *Isabella*; and for these Reasons had made known to the holy Father, that he desired peace; and his Holiness had sent the General of the *Cordeliers* to dispose him more particularly to it.

Surprizal of Amiens by the Spaniards, regards the peace.

But now when some progress was made in it, there happened an accident, which retarded it for more than a year. *Hernando Trillo* Governour of *Damiers* for the Spaniards, being advertized of the evil order which the Burgeses of *Amiens* kept in the Guard of their City, surprized it one morning about nine of the Clock when they were at Sermon, it being Lent-time, having caused the Gate to be pestered with a Carr laden with Nuts, of which sack was purposely spilt, to amuse

the

the Souldiers of the Guard. So trouble Part II
 some news astonished the King so much the
 more, because he was at present rejoicing
 and divertizing himself at *Paris*. He had
 given order that all important packets
 should be brought directly to him, and not
 to others; and that they should bring him
 them at what hours soever: so that being
 in a profound sleep after dancing a Ball,
 a Currier came to wake him, to tell him
 this accident.

He immediately leapt out of bed; and
 sent for three or four of his greatest confi-
 dents, to consult with them. They all
 judged that it arrived in a very unhappy con-
 juncture, because the Duke of *Mercœur* was
 powerful in *Brittany*, the rest of the factions
 being yet concealed under their ashes, the
Hugonots making Cabals or secret Councils;
 the consternation of *Paris* being very great,
 which beheld it self by this means become a
 Frontier. But this Heroick courage whom
 so many perils could not affright, was not
 startled by this; on the contrary, he resol-
 ved to encounter it at first, and go immediate-
 ly to invest *Amiens*, before the *Spaniards*
 were longer settled in it.

1597.

The King
 resolves to
 besiege
Amiens.

His greatest Captains were not of this
 advice: but notwithstanding that, he, who
 had greater knowledge and more constan-
 cy then them all, enterprized it coura-
 geously; not so much, said he, out of opi-
 nion of humane means, as out of the confi-
 dence

Part II. dence he had in God, who had alwaies done him the grace to assist him. And in truth it may be said, that he assisted him more visibly in this occasion then he had ever done.

Many conspiracies discovered.

For he discovered many conspiracies against his person, amongst the rest, of one under Religious orders, whom an agent of the King of *Spain*, as it was said, would have induced to kill him; and very dangerous *Cabals* which the many of the same King upheld at *Paris*, which observed all his motions, and had designed one day to seize his person at his Castle of *St. Germaine in Laye*.

The people contribute willingly, and the Leaguers serve him well.

Moreover, his people answered as they ought, to his Paternal affection, not denying him any thing that he demanded to hasten the siege; and all the Leaguers desiring to testify to him their resentments for all his goodneses, served him so faithfully and vigorously in this occasion, whilst others wavered, and kept their stations, that he was obliged to say, that he acknowledged that the greatest part of that people hated not his person, but only the *Hugonot* Religion.

The Arch-Duke comes to relieve *Amiens*.

The siege was long difficult and doubtful; and if the King of *Spain* would have imployed all his power, the King could never have succeeded in it: but he was become very Melancholy; he desired onely repose, and cared no more for Conquests; so that he gave not any of those assistances which the Arch-Duke demanded. The Arch-Duke ceased not however to use the greatest endeavour he could

could to raise the siege. He presented him-
 self before the Quarter of *Long-Pre* with very
 great forces, on a day when he was not ex-
 pected; which put the French into so great
 a fear and disorder, that had he known how
 to serve himself of the occasion, and had not
 lost time in consultation, he had put those
 three thousand men into the City, which he
 had destined for it.

Part II.
 His arrival
 & assaults
 put the
 Kings
 Army in
 disorder.

The King returning from Hunting, whither
 he was gone, found a general fear through-
 out his Army, and likewise some of his prin-
 cipal Chiefs quite daunted. In so great a dan-
 ger, neither his heart nor his head failed him;
 he dissembled his fear, gave orders without
 passion, and shewed himself every where
 with a cheerful countenance, and with dis-
 courses as resolute as after a victory. He
 made his forces nimbly draw into the field of
 battail, which he had chosen three daies be-
 fore, eight hundred paces from the lines.
 From this place having considered the ex-
 cellent order of the *Spanish* Army, the little
 assurance of his, and the weakness of his Posts,
 where he had not had leasure to fortifie him-
 self, he was a little moved, and doubted of
 the success of the day. When leaning on the
 Pummel of his Saddle, with his hat in his
 hand, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he
 uttered these words with a loud voice: *Oh!*
Lord, if it be to day thou wilt punish me as my sins
deserve, I offer my head to thy Justice; spare
not the Culpable: but Lord, for thy holy mer-
cies

The King
 re-assures
 them.

Words
 worthy a
 good and
 Christian
 King.

Part II.

cles sake, take pity of the poor Kingdom; and smite not the flock for the offence of the shepherd.

It cannot be expressed of what efficacy these words were: they were in a moment carried through the whole Army, and it seemed as if some virtue from heaven had given courage to the *French*.

The Arch-Duke requires to *Flanders*.

The Arch-Duke therefore finding them resolved, and in good Countenance, durst not pass farther. Some other attempts he afterwards made, which did not succeed; and he retired by night into the Country of *Artois*, where he dismissed his Army. In fine, *Hernand Teillo* being slain by a Musquet-shot, the besieged capitulated, and the King established Governour in the City the *Seigneur de Vic*, a man of great order and exact discipline, who by his command began to build a Citadel there.

The King retakes *Amiens*.

The King marches to the gates of *Arras*, and dares the *Spaniards*.

At his departure from *Amiens*, the King led his Army to the very Gates of *Arras* to visit the Arch-Duke; he remained three days in battalia, and saluted the City with some Volleys of Cannon. Afterward seeing that nothing appeared, he retired towards *France* ill satisfied, said he gallantly, with the courtesie of the *Spaniards*, who would not advance so much as one pace to receive him, but had with an ill grace refused the honour he did them.

The Marshal of *Byron* served him extraordinarily at this siege: and the King, when he

was

was returned to *Paris*, and that those of the *Part II.* City gave him a reception truly Royal, he told them, shewing them the Marshal; Gentlemen, see there the Marshal de Byron, whom I do willingly present both to my friends and to my enemies.

There rested now no appearance of the League in *France*, but onely the Duke of *Merceur*, yet keeping a corner of *Brittany*. The King had often granted him Truces, and offered him great Conditions; but he was so intoxicated with an ambition to make himself Duke of that Country, that he found out daily new fancies to delay the concluding one; imagining that time might afford him some favourable revolution, and flattering himself with I know not what prophecies, which assured him that the King should dye in two years.

The Duke of Merceur daily delays concluding his Treaty.

In fine, the King wearied with so many protractions, turns his head that way, resolving to chastise his obstinacy as it deserved. He had been lost without remedy, if he had not been advised to save himself, by offering his only daughter to the eldest son of the Fair *Gabriella* Dutchess of *Beaufort*; who is at this day Duke of *Vendosme*.

The King goes into *Brittany*, resolved to chastise him.

His Deputies could at first obtain nothing else, but that he should immediately depart out of *Brittany*, and deliver those places which he held; which done, his Majesty would grant him oblivion for all past, and receive him into his favour. But the King being

Part II.

He gives
his daugh-
ter to the
Kings na-
tural son,
and by this
means
makes his
agreement.

being of a tender heart, and desiring to advance his natural son by so rich and noble a marriage, granted him a very advantageous Edict, which was verified in the Parliament, as all those of the Chiefs of the League were. This accommodation was made at *Angiers*, the Contract of marriage passed at *Chasteau*, and the affiances celebrated with the same Magnificence, as if he had been a Legitimate son of *France*. He was four years old, and the Virgin six.

By reason
of this mar-
riage, the
King gives
his son the
Dukedom
of *Vendosme*.

The King made gift to him of the Dutchy of *Vendosme*, by the same right that other Dukes hold them: which the Parliament verified, not without great repugnancy; and with this condition, that it should be no pre-
fident for the other goods of the Kings patrimony, which by the Laws of the Realm were esteemed reunited to the Crown from the time of his coming to it.

1598.

He goes to
Nantes and
Rennes.

From *Angiers* the King would pass into *Brittany*. He stayed some time at *Nantes*; from thence he went to *Rennes*, where the Estates were held: he passed about two months in this City in feasts, joys, and divertisements; but yet ceasing not seriously to imploy himself to hasten the expedition of many affairs.
“For it is to be observed, that this great
“Prince employed himself all the mornings
“in serious things, and dedicated therest of
“the day to his divertisements; yet not in
“such manner, that he would not readily
“quit his greatest pleasures, when there was
“any

“any thing of importance to be acted; and Part II.
 “he still gave exprefs order, not to defer the
 “advertising him of fuch things.

He took away a great many fuperfluous Garifons in this Country, fuppreffed many imposts, which the Tyranny of many particular perfons had introduced during the War; difbanded all thofe pilfering Troops, which laid wafte the plain Country; fent forth the Provofts into the Campagne, againft the thieves which were in great number; reftored Juftice to its authority, which License had weakned; and gathered four Millions, of which the Eftates of the Country, of their own free will, levyed eight hundred thoufand crowns. So he laboured profitably for thefe two ends, which he ought moft to intend, to wit, the eafe of his people, and the increafe of his treafures. “Two things which are incompatible
 “when a Prince is not Juft and a good manager, or lets his mony be managed by others
 “without taking diligent care of his accounts.

He puts
good order
in the Province.

Thus was a calme of Peace reftored to France within it felf, after ten years Civil Wars, by a particular grace of God on this Kingdom; by the labour, diligence, goodnefs, and valour of the beft King that ever was. And in the mean time a peace was ferioufly endeavoured between the two Crowns of France and Spain. The two Kings equally wifhed it: our Henry, becaufe he paffionately defired to eafe his people, and to let them regain

Endea-
vours for a
general
peace, and
the two
Kings wifh
it.

Part II. regain their forces, after so many bloody and violent agitations; and *Philip*, because he found himself incline to the end of his days, and that his Son *Philip* the third was not able to sustain the burthen of a War against so great a King.

The Deputies met at *Vervin*.

The Deputies of one part and the other had been assembled for three months in the little City of *Vervins*, with the Popes *Nuncio*. Those of *France*, were *Pomponne* of *Belieurre*, and *Nicholas Bruslard*, both Counsellours of State, and the last likewise President of the Parliament; who acting agreeably, and without jealousies, determined on the most difficult Articles in very little time; and according to the order they received from the King, signed the peace on the second of *May*. The 12. of the same month it was published at *Vervin*.

Substance of the Treaty of *Vervin*.

It would be too long to insert here all the Articles of the Treaty: I shall say only, that it was agreed, that the *Spaniards* should surrender all the places they had taken in *Picardy*, and *Blavet* which they yet held in *Brittany*: That the Duke of *Savoy* should be comprehended in this Treaty; provided he delivered to the King the City of *Berry*, which he held in *Provence*. And for the *Marquesate of Saluces*, which that Duke had taken from *France*, towards the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the third, that it should be remitted to the judgement of the holy Father, who was to decide that controversy in a year.

The

The Publication of the Peace was made Part II.
on the same day through all the Cities of The peace published.
France, and the Low-Countries, with those
rejoycings, whose rumour spread to the ut-
most bounds of Christendom: but none so
truly resented a joy for it, as our *Henry*, who
was accustomed to say, "That it being a
thing Barbarous, and contrary to the laws of
Nature and Christianity, to make War for
the love of War, a Christian Prince ought
never refuse peace, if it were not abso-
lutely disadvantageous to him."

The Third PART

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Henry the Great.

Briefly containing what he did after the Peace of *Vervin*, made in the year 1598. unto his death, which happened in the year 1610.

1598.
The third
part of the
Life of
Henry the
great, more
calm and
more
peaceable
then the
others.



hitherto we have followed the Fortune of our *Henry* through ways craggy and intricate, over Rocks and Precipices, during times very troublesome and full of storms and tempests: at present we are about to trace it through paths more easie and fair, in the sweetneses of calm and quiet peace; where however his Vertue slept not in his repose, but appeared always active; where his great Soul was employed without ceasing in the true functions of Royalty; and where, in fine, among
his

his Divertisements, he made his most necessary and most important employs, his principal pleasures. Part III.

In the two first parts of his Life which we have seen, he was by constraint a Man of War and of the Field; in this last, a Man of Counsel and a great Politician: but in both, invincible and indefatigable.

He was a Souldier by constraint, but a Politician by inclination.

The true duty of a Sovereign, consists principally in protecting his Subjects: he must both defend them against Strangers, and repress the Factions and Attempts of Rebels. It is for this purpose that he hath the power of Arms in his hands, and that it is advantageous to him perfectly to understand the mystery of War. But that comprehends but a part of his Functions; and we may truly say, that it is neither the most necessary, nor the most satisfactory. "For besides that he may manage his Wars by his Lieutenants, who doubtless him to be the most happy Prince, that governs his Affairs in such a manner, that he hath no need of his Sword, but is powerful enough to distribute Justice, punish the wicked, and to honour and reward deserving men? to confer graces and recompences, to keep good order, and conserve the Laws? to maintain his Provinces in tranquillity, sustain his Reputation and greatness, by his good Conduct, inform himself often and diligently of all that passes, make himself to be feared by his Enemies, and esteemed by his Allies; and, like a Sovereign, him-

It is necessary a King should know War; but besides that, there are other functions of Royalty. What those functions are.

Part III. "himself preside in his Councils, receive
 "Ambassadors, and answer them; dispatch
 "great Affairs by Treaties and Negotiations;
 "prevent all ill, and deprive wicked persons
 "and enemies of their power to hurt; encour-
 "age Traffick and the Studies of Sciences
 "and Noble Arts; to make his Kingdome
 "rich, flourishing and abundant; to fetch
 "wealth from all the corners of the earth;
 "but above all, to procure the glory and ser-
 "vice of God, so that his Kingdome may be
 "as a Paradise of Delights, and a Harbour of
 "Felicity. These are, in my opinion, Em-
 "plays worthy a potent King, a Christian and
 "wise King; who, being the Shepherd of his
 "people, (as *Hom*er often calls the great King
 "*Agamemnon*) ought not onely know how
 "to drive away the Wolves, I mean, make
 "War; but likewise understand how to ma-
 "nage his Flock, preserve them from Diseases,
 "fatten and multiply them.

The Peace
 sworn by
 the King
 and Arch-
 Duke *Al-*
bertus.

The Peace being published with an incre-
 dible joy of the *French, Flemings* and *Spani-*
ards, it was solemnly sworn by the King on
 the one and twentieth of *June*, in the Church
 of *Nostre-Dame*, on the Cross and the holy
 Evangelists, in the presence of the Duke of
Arsoot and the Admiral of *Arragon*, Ambassa-
 dors from the King of *Spain* for that pur-
 pose: and afterwards Cardinal-Arch-Duke
Albert, Governour of the Low-Countries for
 that King, swore it on the six and twentieth of
 the same moneth, in the City of *Bruxels*, the
 Mar-

Marshall of *Byron* assisting ; whom our *Henry* had newly honoured with the Quality of Duke and Peer, confirmed in Parliament, as well to give more splendour to that Embassy, as to recompense those great services that Lord had rendered him in his Wars.

In this Voyage the *Spaniards* spared neither Caresses nor Prayers to this new Duke, to inspire him with Pride and Vanity, and intoxicated him in such manner with a good opinion of himself, that it put a fancie in his head, that the King ought him more then he would ever know how to give him ; and that if his vertue were not sufficiently honoured in *France*, he would finde other places where it should be set at a higher price. That which afterwards produced very ill effects.

Many among the *French*, who knew not truly the pitifull estate wherein the King of *Spain* and his Affairs were, could not comprehend why this Prince should buy the peace at so dear a rate as the surrendry of six or seven strong places ; and amongst others, *Calais* and *Blavet*, which might be called the Keys of *France*. On the contrary, the *Spaniards*, who beheld their King as it were dying, his Treasury wasted, the Low-Countries shattered in pieces, *Portugal* and his Lands in *Italy* on the point to revolt, the Son which he left a good Prince in truth, but who loved repose, were astonished that the *French*, having so bravely re-taken *Amiens*, and re-united all their Forces after the Treaty of the Duke of

Mer-

Part III.

Byron made Duke and Peer, goes to swear the peace in the *Netherlands*.

The *Spaniards* possess him with pride and presumption.

What the *French* and what the *Spaniards* said of the peace.

Part III. *Mercur*, had not pressed farther into the Low Countries; seeing that in all appearance they might either have carried them, or at least Why the sorely shaken them. The King answered, King de- "That if he had desired peace, it was not be- fired peace. "cause he was weary of the incommodities of Excellent words. "War, but to give leave to afflicted *Christen-* "dome to breath. That he knew well that "from the Conjunction wherein things were, "he might have drawn great advantages; but "that God often overturns Princes in their "greatest Prosperities; and that a wise man "ought never, out of the opinion of some fa- "vourable event, be averse to a good accord, "nor trust himself too much on the appea- "rance of his present happiness, which may "change by a thousand unexpected Acci- "dents: it having often happened, that a "man thrown down and wounded, hath kil- "led him who would make him demand his "life.

Strange
sickness &
death of
Philip 2. of
Spain.

It was known in a little time, that King *Phi-* lip the second had more need of the peace then *France*; for his sickness was more then redoubled: he had for twenty six days continually a perpetual flux of blood through all the conduits of his body: and a little before his death, he had four Apocsthumes broke in his Groin; from whence there tumbled a continual multitude of Vermin, which all the diligence of his Officers could not drain.

In this strange sickness, his constancy was won-

wonderful; nor did he ever abandon the reins of his Estate, until the last gasp of his Life: for he took care before his death to treat of the marriage of his Son with *Margaret* Daughrer to the Arch-Duke of *Grats*; and that of his dear Daughter *Isabella*, with the Cardinal-Arch-Duke *Albert*, of the same blood with her; and gave him for Dowry the Low-Countries, and County of *Bourgongne*, on Condition of its Reversion if she died without issue.

Part III.

Before his death, he takes care to marry his son and daughter.

He had already signed the Articles of the peace: but this mortal sickness permitted him not to give Oath to it with the same solemnities as the King and Arch-Duke had done. *Philip* the third his Son and Successour acquitted himself of this Obligation on the one and twentieth of *May*, in the year 1601. in the City of *Valladolid*, and presence of the Count of *Rochepot* Ambassodour of *France*.

His sickness hinders his swearing to the peace.

His son *Philip* the 2. doth it after his death.

The license of the War having for many years permitted mischiefs with impunity, there were yet found a great number of Vagabonds, who believed it still permitted them to take the Goods of others at pleasure: and others there were, who thought they had right to do themselves justice by their arms, not acknowledging any Laws but force. This obliged our wise King to begin the Reformation of the Estate by the Re-establishment of publick Security. To this effect, he forbade all carrying of Fire-arms to all persons of what quality soever, upon pain of the Confiscation of their

The King forbids the carrying of arms.

Arms

Part III. Arms and Horses, and a Fine of two hundred Crowns for the first fault, and of Life without remission for the second: permitting all the world to arrest any who carried them, except his light-horsemen, his *Gens d' Arms*, and the Guards of his body, which might bear them onely when they were in service.

He dismisses his Troops.

To the same purpose, and to ease the Country of the multitudes of his Souldiers, he dismissed not onely the greatest part of his new Troops, but likewise reduced the one half of his old. He reduced the Companies of the Ordinance to a very little number, and took off the Guards of the Governours of the Provinces, and Lieutenants of the King; not willing to suffer any whatsoever besides himself to have that glorious mark of Sovereignty about their persons.

The Wars had spoiled all Commerce, reduced Cities into Villages, Villages to small Cots, and Lands to Deserts: nevertheless the Receivers constrained the poor Husband-men to pay Taxes for those Fruits they had never gathered. The Cries of these miserable people who had nothing but their Tongues to lament with, touched in such manner the very Entrails of so just and so good a King, that he made an Edict, by which he released them of all they owed him for the time past, and gave them hopes to ease them more for the future.

He remits the arrears of Taxes.

Moreover, having understood that during the Troubles there were made a great quantity

city of false Nobles, who were exempted from the Tax, he commanded that they should be sought forth: nor did he confirm their Usurpation for a piece of money, as hath been sometimes done, to the great prejudice of other taxed people; but he would that the Tax should be re-imposed upon them, to the end that by this means they might assist the poor people to bear a good part of the burthen, as being the richer.

Part III.
He commands the false Nobles to be sought out, and taxes re-imposed on them.

He desired with much affection to do good to his true Nobility, and repay them those Expences they had been at in his service; but his Coffers were empty: and moreover, all the Gold in Peru had not been sufficient to satisfy the Appetite and Luxury of so many people. For King Henry the third had by his example, and that of his Minions, raised expences so high, that Lords lived like Princes, and Gentlemen like Lords: for which purposes they were forced to alienate the Possessions of their Ancestors, and change those old Castles, the illustrious marks of their Nobility, into Silver-lace, Gilt-coaches, train and horses. Afterwards, when they were indebted beyond their credit, they fell either upon the Kings Coffers, demanding Pensions; or on the backs of the people, oppressing them with a thousand Thieveries. The King, willing to remedy this disorder, declared very resolvedly to his Nobility, That he would they should accustom themselves to live every man on his Estate; and to this effect he should be well

He retrenches the luxury of the Nobility, and sends them all to their houses in the country.

Part III. content that to enjoy themselves of the peace, they should go see their Country houses, and give order for the improvement of their Lands. " Thus he eased them of the great expences of the Court; and made them understand, that the best treasure they could have, was that of good management. Moreover, knowing that the *French Nobility* would strive to imitate the King in all things, he shewed them by his own example, how to abridge their superfluity in Cloathing. For he ordinarily wore gray Cloath, with a Doublet of Sattin or Taffata, without slashing, Lace, or Embroydery. He praised those who were clad in this sort, and chid the others, who carried, said he, their Mills, and their Woods and Forests on their backs.

He shews them by his example the modesty of his habits.

He falls dangerously sick.

About the end of the year, he was seized with a suddain and violent sickness at *Monceaux*; of which it was thought he would die. All *France* was affrighted; and the rumours which ran of it, seemed to re-ignite some factions: but in ten or twelve days, he was on foot again; as if God had onely sent him this sickness to discover to him what ill wills there were yet in the Kingdome, and to give him the satisfaction to feel by the sorrows of his people, the pleasures of being loved.

Words of a good King.

In the strength of his Disease, he spoke to his friends these excellent words: *I do not at all fear death; I have affronted it in the greatest dangers: but I avow that I should unwillingly leave this Life, till I have put this Kingdome in-*

to that splendour I have proposed to my self; and Part III.
till I have testified to my people, by governing them
well, and easing them of their many Taxes, that
I love them as if they were my Children.

After his recovery, continuing in his praise-
worthy designs of putting his Affairs in or-
der, he came to St. Germain in Laya, to re-
solve the Estates of the expence as well of his
House, as for the Guard of Frontiers and Ga-
risons, entertainment of Forces, Artillery,
Sea-Affairs, and many other Charges. He had
then in his Council (as we may say we have at
present) very great men, and most experien-
ced in all sorts of Matters; but he still shewed
himself more able and more understanding
then they. He examined and discussed all the
particulars of his expence with a judgement
and with a clearness of spirit truely admirable;
retrenched and cut off all that was possible, al-
lowing onely what was necessary. Amongst
other things, he abridged the superfluous ex-
pences of the Tables in his house; not so much
that he might spare himself; as to oblige his
subjects to moderate their liquorish prodiga-
lity, and hinder them from ruining their whole
houses by keeping too great Kitchens. "In
"sum, by the example of the King, which
"hath always more force then Laws, or then
"Correction, Luxury was soon conver-
"ted into a Frugality very necessary for the
"State.

He gives
the Estates
an account
of his ex-
pences.

Cuts off
the super-
fluous ex-
pences of
his Tables;

He had chosen for his Council very able and
faithful Ministers; as, Chiverny, Bellievre, Sil-

Who were
his Coun-
sellours &
lery, Ministers.

Part III. lery, Sancy, Janin, Villeroy and Rosny. I speak not here at all of his gallant Men for War, as the Marshal of Byron, Lesdignieres Governour of the Dauphinate, the Duke of Mayenne, the Constable of Montmorency, the Marshal de la Chastre, the Marshal d'Aumont, Guitry, la Noue, and many others; of whom he served not himself in the Administration of State-affairs, though he often entertained himself with them; and for their honour sometimes communicated to them things of consequence, demanding their advice.

Chiverny. The Chancellour of *Chiverny*, who had been raised to this charge under the reign of Henry the third, was a man cold, dissembled, and confederate: but, as his Enemies said, he was a much better Pleader then Counsellour of State.

Bellievre. He died the year following; and in his place the King constituted *Pomponne de Bellievre*, a man perfectly accomplished in the knowledge of the Rights and Interests of France, and a most expert Negotiator, as he well shewed in the Treaty of *Vervin*. He was old when the King gave him this Charge; and therefore said himself, That he onely entred into it, to go out of it. He counselled the King to make a severe Act against Duels: He established a very good Order in the Council; and ordained, That none should be received Master of the Requests, but who had been ten whole years in one of the Sovereign Companies, or sixteen in other of the Subalternate Seats.

Nicholas

Nicolas Bruillard de Sillery, President of the Part III. *Sillery*,
 Cap to the Parliament of *Paris*, who was his
 Son-in-law, and who had been his Companion
 at *Vervin*, was of a spirit sweet, facile and cir-
 cumspect. It hath been said, that the Pub-
 lick never beheld any passion either in his
 Countenance or Discourse.

Harlay-Sancy was a man free, bold and *Sancy*,
 dauntless, who feared no person when he act-
 ed for the service of the King: but he was a
 little rugged, and spoke to him too freely;
 witness what he said concerning *Madam Ga-*
briella, who knew how to return it to him.

As for *Fanin* President of the Parliament
 of *Bourgogne*, and *Villeroy* chief Secretary of
 State, they had both taken part with the
 League; and yet very profitably served both
 the King and *France*, having in what they act-
 ed endeavoured onely for the defence of the
 Catholick Religion, and not been moved out
 of a spirit of faction. They had hindred the
Spaniards from planting themselves in this
 Realm, and the Duke of *Mayenne* from abso-
 lutely casting himself upon them, as his despair
 had often perswaded him to do. They agreed
 both in this point, that they loved the Estate
 and Royalty with passion; and that they had
 great judgement: but for the rest of their
 humours, they were very much different.

Fanin was an old *Gaul*, who would manage *Fanin*,
 his Affairs by the ancient forms, according to
 the Laws and Ordinances; a good Lawyer,
 firm and resolute, who went directly towards

Part III. his end, and who knew no subtile turnings and windings, but entirely loved the publick good.

Villeroy.

Villeroy was one of the wisest and most exact Courtiers that was ever seen: he had a spirit clear and neat, which would unravel with an incredible facility the most embroyled Affairs; explain them so agreeably and intelligibly as nothing more, and who turned them as himself pleased. He was wonderfully active withal, and most excellent at finding Expedients; taking his business by so sure hold, that it was difficult to escape him.

The King
confers of-
ten with
his Coun-
sellours, &
how,

The King often conferred with these Counsellours: for they were now so called, and not Ministers, as they had been for above thirty years before. He spoke to them of his Affairs, sometimes to be instructed, and sometimes to instruct them; which he did either in the Council-chamber, or walking in the Gardens of the *Tuilleries*, *Monceaux*, *St. Germain*, and *Fontainebleau*. He discoursed often with them apart, calling them one after another; and he did so, either to oblige them to speak to him with more liberty, or not to tell them all together what he would onely tell to some particularly; or for some other reason which he without doubt deduced from good policy. He said, That he found none amongst them who satisfied him like *Villeroy*; and that he could dispatch more business with him in an hour, then with the others in a whole day.

As

As for *Maximilian de Bethune* Baron of *Part II.*
Rosny, and after Duke of *Sully*, he had been *Rosny, after*
 bred up with the King in the Hugonot Re- *Duke of*
 ligion; and the King had known his capacity *Sully.*
 and affection in divers affairs of consequence;
 but above all, that his genius carried him to
 the good management of Revenues; and that
 he had all qualities requisite for that purpose.
 In effect, he was a man of good order, exact,
 a good husband, a keeper of his word; not
 prodigal nor proud, nor carried away by vain
 follies or expences, or play, or women, or
 any other things not convenient for a man
 entrusted with such an Employment. More-
 over, he was vigilant, laborious, expeditious,
 and one who dedicated almost his whole time
 to his affairs, and little to his pleasure: and
 withal, he had the gift of piercing into the
 very bottome of matters, and unravelling
 those twistings and knots with which Treas-
 urers, when they are not trusty and faithful,
 endeavour to conceal their deceits.

We have already said how the King de-
 sired above all things to provide for a good
 Government in his Revenues; and the reasons
 for which he had been obliged to leave *Francis d' O,*
Francis d' O, in the charge of Superintendant.
 After this man was dead, he gave that charge
 to five or six persons, whom he believed
 both capable and honest men: he was perswa-
 ded that he should be better served by them,
 then by one alone, imagining that they would
 serve as checks and controulers to one ano-
 ther.

After the
 death of
Francis d'
O, he com-
 mits his
 Revenues
 to five or
 six, who ac-
 quit them-
 selves ill,

Part III. ther. But the quite contrary happened: every one discharged himself on his Companion, nothing was advanced; and if any would act, the others were not wanting to cross him by their jealousies: so that they only agreed in this point, that every one looked that his Salary was well paid him; which cost the King six times more, then if he had had only one Superintendent, whilst he drew no profit from this multitude.

Seeing that,
he makes
Sancy alone
Superin-
tendent:

And very
little time
after, *Rosny*,

who knows
perfectly
the Reve-
nues.

Which the
King knows
also so
well, that
he could
not be
cheated.

Knowing then that so many people did onely imbroil his Revenues, he returned them again into the hands of one, and this was *Sancy*. But a short time after, finding him more proper for other Employments then that, he gave him *Rosny* for a Companion, and after made *Rosny* alone Superintendent.

Rosny before he entred into this Charge, was provided with all necessary knowledges to acquit himself well of it; he knew perfectly all the Revenues of the Kingdom, and all the expences which were necessary. He communicated all he knew to the King, who on his part had likewise studied all these things, so that an hundred Crowns could not be laid out, but he would know whether it were well or ill employed. "As it is the advantage of an unfaithful Steward that his Master be ignorant, and make no inspection into his affairs: so it is of a true and faithful Servant, that he be well instructed, and that he clearly see them, to the end
"he

“he may know how worthily to esteem his Part III.
“Services.

For the rest of his humour, it agreed perfectly well with that of the Kings. When he trusted him with his Revenues, he desired him that he would never take a bottle of wine, or any the least present without advertising him. And when *Rosny* did advertise him of it, he consented presently to it: and likewise was so willing that in serving him well he might find his benefit, that oftentimes he added gifts of his own, to give him courage to serve him still better and better. But *Rosny* never received them till they were duly ratified in the Chamber of Accounts: to the end all the world might know the liberality of his Prince towards him, and that he might not be reproached that he made use of his favour to load his own Coffers.

He desires
Rosny to
take no
Presents
without
advertising him.

Under the Administration of this Superintendent, the first Law which the King made concerning affairs of this nature, was the immutable constancy of their ordering; which was never to alter, after it was once agreed and concluded on. “For as the most desperate things are by good order redressed
“under a firm and constant Conduct: so the
“best established and most assured become
“dispersed under a light head, which does,
“undoes, and redoes without ceasing; and
“which on the morrow revokes, what it to
“day commanded.

He begins
to establish
a constant
order in the
Revenues,

Effects of
this good
management of
Rosny,

Rosny soon gave indubitable proofs of his

Part III. capacity : for having visited only four * Ge-
 * *A general* neralities, he in little time got in a Million
place for and half of money, which was in Arrear.
receipt of And after the Surprizal of *Amiens* by the
Revenues, Spaniards, he readily found moneys to raise
whereof a great Army, and furnish the expence of
there be 20. the siege: so that he was one of the Principal in-
in France, struments in the Recovery of that great City.
viz, Paris, Caen, Nantes, Tours, Bourges, Poitiers, Agen, Tholouse, Mont-
Rouen, pellier, Aix, Grenoble, Lyons, Dijon, Chaalons, Amiens, Orle-
 ans, Limoges, Soissons & Moulin.

Expedients It is convenient, since it may prove necessa-
to hinder ry in all times, to take notice of an Expedi-
those of the ent which amongst others he found to hin-
Council to der the coufenages of the Tax-gatherers.
share with He knew that there were some persons in the
the Farmers Kings Council, who held part with the Ren-
 ters and Farmers, and who caused them to
 be adjudged to the Council at a low price,
 and often made be given great Diminutions.
 To hinder therefore these people from eating
 the Oake amongst them, he stopt the hands
 of the general Farmers, forbidding the un-
 der-Farmers longer to pay them any thing,
 but themselves to bring the mony of their
 under-Farms into the Exchequer. He doubled
 by this means the Revenues of the King: for
 the under-Farms and under-Rents were
 found to surmount almost two thirds the
 General Rents and Farms.

The Col- Those of the Council and the Collectors
lectors ex- at first exclaimed highly against his Conduct;
claim a- they laid snares every where for him, and
gainst Kos- be-
ny, but he
derides
them.

begat him a thousand troubles; but with time he brought them to reason. Likewise all those who had no right to demand any thing of him, and who ceased not to importune him, when they could get nothing from him, stormed against his hardness: but he cared not for their fury; he regarded onely legally to pay the debts of the King, and readily to pay what was ordained for good ends; for he knew not how to let that be an hundred times demanded, which was truly due.

"We have stayed somewhat the longer on this point of the Revenues, because it is the most important of all; that by which all things are done, and without which nothing can be done; on which depends either the ease or the oppression of the people, and the good or ill success of all designs or enterprizes.

Our Henry much desired at the same time to take care for the Reformation of the Clergy, which in truth was in great disorder, as well in temporals, its goods having been usurped during the Wars by the Hugonots and wicked Catholicks; as in spirituals, the greatest part of both Prelates and Pastors being as ignorant as depraved: but he could not yet apply convenient remedies. The necessity to which he was driven to recompence those who had well served him, constraining him to tolerate abuses, and likewise to commit them, disposing Benefices as formerly Charles Martell had done. For he gave them

to some of the best of the Clergy.

1599. The King cannot yet provide for the Reformation of the Clergy.

His abuse of Benefices.

to

Part III. to people incapable, to Married men, to men of the Sword, to Children, and likewise to Women, to recompense the loss of their husbands killed or ruined in his Service.

I have not attempted to excuse this fault; for there can never be any lawful reason given for the prostitution of the goods of the Sanctuary to prophane uses, or employing the treasures of the Cross in other Services than that of the Altar. I know well that many Ecclesiasticks themselves act otherwise; but who doubteth these people to be worse than those *Jews*, who played at Dice upon the holy Robe of *Jesus Christ*?

Remonstrance of the general Assembly of the Clergy to the King.

The King cannot yet provide for the Reformation of the Clergy.

About the end of this year, the general Assembly of the Clergy was held at *Paris*, who drew up a Remonstrance to the King; by which the Prelates prayed him to cause the Council of *Trent* to be published in *France*; Not to charge his conscience with the nomination of Bishops, Abbots, and other Benefices having the charge of souls; not to give any persons of the Layty Pensions over Benefices; not to permit Churches and holy places to be profaned as they then were; but to take some order for their reparation, and the re-establishment of Divine Service.

For what concerned the Council of *Trent*, it is to be understood that it was received in *France*, as to those Articles concerned the Faith; but not generally for those which concerned Policy and Discipline, because it seemed to many, that these last were for the most

part

part contrary to the liberty of the Gallick Part III.
Church, and the rights of the King. For
which reasons, whatever endeavours the zealous
have used, they could never compass its
reception, the Parliaments having alwaies
strongly opposed it.

To the Harangue of the Clergy, the King The Kings
eloquently answered, but in few words, answer.

That he acknowledged what they had said concerning the nomination of Benefices was true; but that he was not the author of that abuse. That being come to the Crown during the flames of a Civil War, he had ran where ever he had beheld the greatest fire to extinguish it. That now he had peace, he would endeavour again to raise up those two Pillars of France, to wit, Piety and Justice. That God willing he would restore the Church to as good an Estate as it was in the time of Lewis xii. But, said he, contribute I pray you on your side; let your good Examples as much incite the people to do good, as they have been heretofore diverted: you have exhorted me to my duty, and I exhort you to yours; let us act in this with envy one to another. My Predecessors have given you fair words, but I with my Gray Jacket will give you good effects. I am all Gray without, but you shall find me Gold within. I will see your desires, and answer them the most favourably I can possible.

All his Prudence and all his Address were not too much to teach him to govern himself so that both the Catholicks and Pope might be content with his Conduct, and the Hugonots have Hugonots.

He had need of great Prudence to conduct himself with the Pope and with the Hugonots.

Part III. have no cause to be alarmed, or censure themselves. His Duty and his Conscience carried him to the assistance of the first; but Reason of State, and the great Obligations he had to the last, permitted him not to make them despair. To keep therefore a necessary temperature, he granted them an Edict more ample than the precedent. It was called, The Edict of *Nantes*, because it was concluded the year before in that City whilst he was there: by this he granted them all liberty for the exercise of their Religion; and likewise license to be admitted to Charges, to Hospitals, to Colledges, and to have Schools in certain places, and preaching every where; and many other things, of which they are since deprived, by reason of their Rebellions and divers Enterprizes.

Edict of
Nantes
granted to
the *Hugo-*
nots.

The Parli-
ament with
great diffi-
culty con-
firm it.

The Parliament strongly opposed it for more than a year: but in the end, when they were made understand that not to accord that security to the *Hugonots*, who were both powerful and quarrelsome, were to rekindle new War in the Kingdom, they confirmed it.

The King
shews all
respect to
the Pope.

On the other side, to sweeten the Pope, who might be troubled at this Edict, the King shewed him all possible manner of respect, and strenuously embraced his interests, as appeared in the action of *Ferrara*, in the years 1597. and 1598.

Cause of
the Dutchy
of *Perpignan*.

This Dutchy is a *Fief* Male of the holy Seat, of which the Popes had formerly invested the Lords of the house of *Est*, in charge of its re-
version

version in default of legitimate Males. *Alphonso d'Est*, second of that name, and last Duke, died in the year 1597. without Children, and had left great Treasures to *Cesar d'Est*, Bastard to *Alphonso* the first his Kinsman. He had done what possibly he could to obtain the Investiture of the Dutchy on this Bastard; who not able to obtain it, yet ceased not to take possession of it after the death of *Alphonso* the second; resolving to maintain it by force of Arms. *Clement* the eighth was obliged to make War against him, to dispossess him: the Princes of *Italy* took part in the Quarrel; and the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours* were upon the point to undertake the defence of *Cesar*, whose near Kinsmen they were, being the issues of *Anne d'Est*, Daughter of *Hercules* the second, Duke of *Ferrara*, and of *Madam Renee de France*: for that *Anne* in her first marriage had espoused *Francis* Duke of *Guise*; and in her second, *James* Duke of *Nemours*. The King of *Spain* likewise favoured him underhand, not desiring that the Pope should grow greater in *Italy* by the re-union of that Dutchy. But *Henry* the great was not wanting to take this occasion to offer his Sword and his Forces to the holy Father. The Allies knowing it, were extremely disheartned, and he constrained to treat with the Pope, to whom he surrendred all the Dutchy of *Ferrara*. There remained to him onely the Cities of *Modena* and *Regia*, which the Emperour maintained to be Fief of the Empire, and of which

Part III.

Cesar bastard of *Ferrara*, would maintain it.

The Pope makes war against him.

The King offers his sword to the Pope. *Cesar* quits *Ferrara*, &c remains Duke of *Modena*.

Part III. which he gave him the Investiture. From whence came the present Dukes of *Modena*.

If the heat which the King testified in this occasion for the interests of the holy Seat, sensibly obliged the Pope; that care which he made daily appear to bring back the *Hugonots* into the bosome of the Church, was no less agreeable to him. He acted to this purpose in such a manner, that from day to day many of the most understanding and of the best quality were converted. But that which was more

Many *Hugonots* converted.

The King takes the young Prince of *Conde* from the *Hugonots*, and causes him to be instructed in the Catholick Religion.

important, was, his taking the young Prince of *Conde* from the hands of the *Hugonots*, who had kept him diligently at *St. John d' Angely* ever since the death of his Father, which happened in the year 1587. and brought him up in the false Religion, with great hope to make him one day their Chief and Protector. The King, considering how it would be both prejudicial to the safety of the young Prince, and to his own interests, to leave him longer there, knew so well how to gain the principal of the party, that they suffered him to be brought to Court; and he gave him for Governour *John*, Marquess of *Pisani*, a Lord of a rare merit, and of a wisdom without reproach, who forgot not to instruct him well in the Catholick Religion, and in the truest sentiments of Honour and Vertue. He was yet but seven or eight years old: when he came to nine, the King gave him the Government of *Guyenne*; loving him tenderly, and cherishing him as his presumptive Successour.

During

During this calm of the peace, nothing was spoken of but rejoycings, feasts and marriages. That of the *Infanta of Spain, Isabella-Clara-Eugenia*, and of the Arch-Duke *Albert*, was solemnized in the Low-Countries: and that of *Madam Katherine*, sister of the King, with *Henry Duke of Bar*, eldest son to *Charles the second Duke of Lorrain at Paris*.

Part III.
Marriage of the Infanta of Spain, and Katherine sister to the King.

Katherine was forty years of age; more agreeable than fair, having one Leg a little short. She was very spiritual, loved Learning, and knew much for a woman; but was an obstinate *Hugonot*. The King feared lest she should marry some Protestant Prince, who by this means might become Protector of the *Hugonots*, and be like another King in *France*: by reason of which, he gave her to the Duke of *Bar*; thinking moreover to gain more belief among the Catholics, by allying himself with the house of *Lorrain*. Before this, he had used all possible means to convert her, even to the employing of threats: but not being able to do it, he said one day to the Duke of *Bar*, My Brother, it is you must vanquish her.

Qualities of Katherine, & why the King married her to the Duke of Bar.

There was some difficulty about the place and the Ceremony of Celebration of this marriage: the Duke would have it done at the Church, and the Princess by a *Hugonot*-Minister. The King found a mean: he caused it to be done in his Closet, whither he led his Sister by the hand; and commanded his natural Brother, who had for about two years been

The marriage made in the Kings Closet.

Arch-

Part III. Archbishop of *Rome*, to marry them. This new Archbishop at first made some refusal of it; alledging the Canons: but the King representing to him that his Closter was a consecrated place, and that his presence supplied the default of all solemnities; the poor Archbishop had no longer power to resist him.

This Marriage being made for the good of the Catholick Religion, it seemed that the Pope should have been content. Nevertheless, not willing to suffer an ill that a good might come of it, he declared that the Duke of *Bar* had incurred Excommunication, for having without the dispensation of the Church contracted with an Heretick: nor ever could the Duke, what submission soever he made, obtain Absolution. It was necessary for God to lend his hand. This Princess died three years after with sadness and melancholy to see her self live in a discontented manner with her Husband, who dayly pressed her to turn Catholick.

Death of
the Durb-
chefs of
Bar.

Besides the solemnities of these Marriages, many other things entertained the Court. Two notable Changes, one of the Duke of *Foyense*, the other of the Marchioness of *Bel Isle*, caused its astonishment.

The Duke
of *Foyense*
re-takes
the habit of
Capuchin.

The Duke of *Foyense*, who had quitted the habit of Capuchin to become chief of the League in *Languedoc*; on a fair day, without saying any thing to any body, went and cast himself into his Convent at *Paris*, and re-took the

the habit. Few days after, there was much Part III.
astonishment to see him with that habit of penitence preach in the Pulpit, whom they had seen the week before dancing of Balls, as one of the most Gallant. It was said, that the holy Exhortations of his Mother, who from time to time put him in remembrance of his Vow, and some ambiguous words which the King had thrown out in converse with him, made him think that he could no longer live in the world either with safety of Conscience, or with Honour.

The Marchioness of *Bell Isle*, sister to the Duke of *Longueville*, and Widow of the Marquess of *Bell Isle*, eldest son of the Marshal de *Retz*, having received some secret displeasure, renounced likewise the world, and went and shut her self up in the Convent of the *Fenillantine*s at *Tolouse*, where she took the veil, and finished her days.

The Marchioness of *Bell Isle* turns *Fenillantine*.

After this, came News to the Court, that *Phillipin*, Bastard to the Duke of *Savoy*, was killed in a Duel by the *Seigneur de Crequy*: of whom it might be without flattery said, That he was one of the most gallant and bravest men of his time. The History of this Combat may be found written in so many places, and is yet so firm in the memory of all that wear swords, that it would be superfluous to recount the particularities.

Duel of *de Crequy*, and *Phillipin* bastard of *Savoy*.

The Chase was now the Kings ordinary divertisement. It is recounted, that Hunting in the Forest of *Fountain-bleau*, accompanied

Q

by

Part III. by many Lords, he heard a great noise of Horns, Hunters and Dogs, which seemed to be a great way distant; but all of an instant approached them. Some of his company who were twenty paces before him, saw a great black man among the Bushes, who affrighted them in such manner, that they could not tell what became of him: but they heard him cry out to them with a rank and affrightful voice, *M' attendez-vous*, or *m' entendez-vous*, or *amendez-vous*: that is, *Do you bear me*; or, *Do you understand me*; or else, *Amend yourselves*. The Wood-men and Country-people thereabouts, said, That it was no extraordinary thing; for they had often seen this black man, whom they named the Great Hunter, with a pack of Hounds which hunted at full cry; but never did harm to any.

The Apparition of the great Hunter to the King hunting at Fountain-bleau.

Infinite account is made in all Countries in the world of like illusions in Hunting. If we may give any credit to them, we may believe them either to be the tricks of Sorcerers, or of some evil spirits, to whom God gives permission to convince the incredulous, and make them see that there are substances separated, and a being above man.

What these fantasms may be.

Now if Prodiges are signes, as some have said of some great and dire Events, it may be believed that this presaged the strange death of the fair *Gabriella*, which happened some days after. The love which the King had for her, in stead of being extinguished by enjoyment, was come to such a point, that she had

dared

dared to demand of him, that he should acknowledge his fault, and legitimate his Children by a subsequent marriage: nor durst he absolutely refuse her this grace, but entertained her still with hopes.

Those who love the glory of this great King, can difficultly believe that he would have done such an action which had without doubt begot a low opinion of him, and again thrown him under his peoples hatred. However, it was to be feared that the allurements of this woman, who had found his weakness, with the flattery of the Courtiers whom she had almost all gained, either by presents or kindnesses, might engage this poor Prince to dishonour. And without dissembling, he had his soul too tender towards Ladies. He was Master of all his other passions, but he was a Slave to this: nor can his memory be justified from this reproach: for though he were admirable in all other parts of his life, he ought not to be imitated in this.

In the meantime, *Gabriella*, flattering herself with a hope to be ere long his Wife, deduced from those hopes himself had given her, acted so well, that she obliged him to demand of the Pope Commissioners to judge of the Divorce between him and *Queen Margaret*. And the King, that he might find favour with the holy Father, and render him more facile to his intentions, caused to be said under-hand, that he would marry *Maria de Medices* his Niece, Sister to the Duke of Florence: for

Part III.

The fair *Gabriella* demands the King to espouse her, and legitimate his Children. He feeds her with hope.

She in the end obliges the King to demand Commissioners of the Pope to judge of the divorce of *Margaret*.

Part III. whom nevertheless it was believed that he had not then any desire.

And the Pope, were it that he distrusted his intention, or that he saw that *Queen Margaret* lent not her hand to it, protracted the business, and returned onely ambiguous Answers. It was likewise said, that being one day much pressed by the Cardinal *d' Ossat* and by *Sillery* to give content to their Master, for want of which, said they, he may pass further, and espouse the Dutchess; he was so astonished at this discourse, that he immediately remitted the conduct of this Affair to the hand of God, commanded a Fast through all the City of *Rome*, and went himself to Prayers, to demand of God to inspire him with what should be best for his glory. That at the end of his Prayer he cryed out as if he had been revived from an Extasie, *God hath provided*; and that in few days after, there arrived a Courrier at *Rome*, bringing News of the death of the Dutchess.

In the mean time the King grew impatient at these delays; and it was to be feared lest a disdain to be neglected should cast him into the same inconveniencies it had formerly done *Henry the eighth*, King of *England*; or by the counsel of some flatterers, forcing the goodness of his nature, be perswaded to rid himself of *Queen Margaret* in any manner forever.

The King
remains at
*Fontain-
bleau* to do
Paris.

Gabriella was at present great with her fourth Childe, when the feast of *Easter* appeared, and sends the fair *Gabriella* to proaching,

proaching, the King desiring to do his Devotions for that holy time far from all object of scandal, sent her to *Paris*, accompanying her just half way. She with no small grief parted from him, recommending to him her Children with tears in her eyes, as if she had some secret presentiment; telling him that she should never more see him.

Being at *Paris*, lodged in the house of *Zanet*, that famous Treasurer, after having dined with him, and heard * *Tenebres* at little *St. Antonies*, (being holy *Thursday*) as she returned to her Lodging, and being walking in the Garden, she felt her self struck with an *Apoplexy* in the brain. The first fury of it being passed, she would no longer stay in that house, but caused her self to be carried to that of *Madam de Sourdis* her Aunt, near *St. Germain* of the *Auxerrois*. And all the rest of that day, and the morrow, she was perplexed with Swoondings and Convulsions, of which she died on the *Saturday*-morning.

The causes of her death were diversly spoken of: but however, it was a happiness to *France*, since it deprived the King of an object for which he was about to loose both himself and his Estate. His grief was as great as his love had been: yet he, not being of those feeble souls who please themselves in perpetuating their sorrows, and in bathing themselves in their tears, received not onely those comforts he sought, but still conserved for the Children, and particularly for the Duke of *Vendosm*,

* A service in the Roman Church used three days before Easter, which are call'd, *Les trois Jours de tenebres*

She dies in a strange manner.

The King comforts himself, & conserves an extream tenderness for her Children.

Part III. *doſm*, that affection he had born the Mother.

Queen
Margaret
presents a
request to
the Pope to
dissolve her
marriage.

The Lords
and Parlia-
ment be-
seech the
King to
take a wife.

All good French-men passionately desired that so good a King might leave legitimate Children. They durst not press him to take a Wife capable to bring him forth such, so long as *Gabriella* lived, for fear lest he should espouse her: and out of the same fear, Queen *Margaret* would not give her consent to dissolve his marriage. But when *Gabriella* was dead, she willingly lent her hand to it; and her self addressed a Request to the holy Father to demand the dissolution, founding it principally on two causes of nullity. The first was the want of consent: for she alledged she had been forced to it by King *Charles* the ix. her Brother. The second, the Proximity of Kindred found between them in the third degree: for which she said there had never been any valuable Dispensation.

In like manner the Lords of the Kingdome and the Parliament besought his Majesty by solemn Deputations, that he would think of taking a Wife: representing to him the inconveniencies and the danger wherein *France* would be found, if he should die without Children. These Deputations will not seem strange to those who know our ancient History; where it may be seen, that neither the King nor his Children married but by the advice of his Barons: and this passed in that time for almost a Fundamental Law of the Estate.

The

The King touched with these just supplications of his subjects, addressed his request to the Pope, containing the same reasons as that of Queen Margaret, and charged the Cardinal *d'Osat*, and *Sillery* his extraordinary Ambassador, whom he had sent to Rome, to pursue the judgement of the Pope concerning the restitution of the Marquisate of Saluces, to sollicite instantly this Affair.

The cause reported to the Consistory, the Pope gave Commission to the Prelates to judge it on the place, according to the rights of that Crown; which suffers not Frenchmen to be transported for Affairs of the like nature beyond the Mountains, whither it would be almost impossible to bring the necessary proofs and witnesses. These Prelates were the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, the Popes Nuncio, and the Archbishop of *Arles*; who having examined both Parties, seen the Proofs produced on one and the other, and the Request of the three Estates of the Kingdom, declared this marriage null, and permitted them to marry whom they should think fit.

Queen Margaret, who for many years had deserted the King, and voluntarily shut herself up in the strong Castle of *Villon* in *Amvergne*, had now permission to come to *Paris*, money given her to pay her debts, great Pensions, the possession of the Dutchy of *Valois*, with some other Lands, and right to bear still the Title of Queen. She lived yet fifteen years, and built a Palace near *du Pre aux Clercs*.

Part III.

He presents his request to the Pope, as well as Queen Margaret.

The Pope appoints Commissioners, who pronounce the dissolution of the marriage.

After which, Queen Margaret comes to Paris.

Part III. which was after sold to pay his debts, and demolished to build other houses. She loved Her inclination. extremely good Musicians, having a delicate Ear, and knowing and eloquent Men, because she was of a spirit clear and very agreeable in her discourse. For the rest, she was liberal even to prodigality; pompous and magnificent; but she knew not what it was to pay her debts. "Which is without doubt the greatest of all a Princes fault, because there is nothing so much against Justice, of which he ought to be the Protector and Defender.

1600.

Maria de Medicis demanded for Hen. 4.

This marriage being dissolved, *Bellevre* and *Villeroy*, fearing lest the King should engage himself in new loves, and be taken in some of those snares which the fairest of the Court stretched out for him, perswaded him by many great Reasons of State to fix his thoughts on *Maria de Medicis*, who was daughter to *Francis*, and Neece to *Ferdinand*, great Dukes of *Toscany*.

The Cardinal d' *Osat* and *Sillery* made known his intention to the great Duke *Ferdinand* her Uncle: and *Alincour*, son to *Villeroy*, whom he had sent to thank the holy Father for his good and brief Justice touching the afore said dissolution of his marriage, had order to testifie to him, that the King having cast his eyes on all the Daughters of the Sovereign Houses of *Christendome*, had found no Princess more agreeable to him. The business was managed with so much activeness and vigilancy by the diligence of those which had enterprized

prized it, that the King found himself absolutely engaged. The contract of the marriage was signed at *Florence* by his Ambassadors the fourth of *April*, in the year one thousand six hundred. And *Alincour* in seven days brought him the news to *Fountain-bleau*. He assisted at present at that famous Conference or Dispute between *James David du Perron* Bishop of *Eureux*, afterwards Cardinal, and *Philip du Plessis Mornay*; where truth nobly triumphed over falsehood.

There are particular relations of the solemnities made at *Florence*, the Magnificences of the great Duke, the Ceremonies of the Affiancing and Marriage of this Queen, of her Imbarking, her being convoyed by the Gallies of *Malta* and *Florence*, and her reception at *Marseilles*, at *Avignon*, and at *Lions*, and therefore I shall speak nothing of it.

Whilst the Marriage of *Florence* was treating, the King having a heart which could for no long time keep his liberty, became enslaved to a new object.

It is to be understood that *Mary Touchet*, who had been Mistress to *Charles the ninth*, from whom came Issue the Count d' *Auvergne*, had been Married to the Lord d' *Entragues*, and had by him many children, amongst the rest a very fair daughter named *Henrietta*, who by consequent was sister by the mothers side to the Count of *Auvergne*. This Count was about the age of thirty years, and she about eighteen.

Part III.

The contract of the marriage at *Florence*, and the Nuptials Solemnized by Proxy.

The King falls into the snares of *Madam d'Entragues* afterwards Marchioness of *Vernueil*.

It

Part III.

A good reflection concerning flatterers.

It is but too well known, that Flatterers and wicked Sycophants ruine all in the Courts of great Men, and corrupt likewise their persons. "These are they which sweeten the poyson, which embolden the Prince to do ill, which make him familiar with vice, which seek and facilitate occasions for it, and who act, as we may say, the mystery of Satan and of the Tempter. It is impossible to purge Courts from these plagues; they insinuate, maugre the utmost endeavours, into the Palaces of great ones; they render themselves agreeable by new diversions; gain the ear by flattering praises, by pleasant and well-devised Fables and Stories: and when they have gained their entrance, they make their venom slide into the heart, and impoison the souls of the most innocent.

Our Henry, though so great a Prince as he was, had these people near him, who knowing his weakness as to women, in stead of fortifying him against it, and restraining him like true friends, they spurred him (as it were) forward in his wickedness, and made their fortunes from his faults. It was these, who by commending the Beauties, the Carriage, the Spirit, and the divertizing and pleasant discourse of *Mademoiselle d'Entragues*, made him first have a desire to see and to love her. They could never have done a worse Service for their Master than this. She had certainly many Charms, nor had she less spirit and cunning.

cunning. Her refusals and modesty did more and more provoke the Kings Passion. Though he was not prodigal, he caused an hundred thousand crowns to be carried her at once. She refused them not, and reciprocally testified much love and impatience for so great a King: but she cunningly caused her Father and Mother to observe her so near, that she could not give him a full conveniency to speak to her.

Hereupon she let him understand, that she even dispaired that she could not keep her word with him; that it was necessary to have the consent of her Father and Mother, for which on her part she would labour. Afterwards, after many delays and put offs, she told him, that they could not be brought to so delicate a point, except, were it onely to secure their consciences towards God, and their honour towards the world, his Majesty would make her a promise of Marriage: That she had no desire to serve her self of such a writing; and that if she would do it, she knew well there was no Officer who durst cite a Man who had fifty thousand men of war at his command: but that these good people desired it should be so; and that he need make no difficulty to please their fancy, since he did but give her a little bit of paper in Exchange of the most precious thing she had in the world. In fine, she knew so well how to work his spirit, that he gave her a promise under his hand, by which he obliged him-

Part III.

The King gives an hundred thousand crowns to Madam Isabelle d'Entragues.

Her cunning to bring him to her designs.

She gets a promise of marriage from self him,

Part III. self to espouse her in a year, so that in that time she brought forth a Male-child.

Sully tears it, but the King makes another.

All this intrigue may be seen in the Memoires of Sully, where he says, that the King having led him alone into the first Gallery of *Fountain-bleau*, shewed him this promise written under his hand, and demanded his advice: That in stead of formally answering him concerning it, he tore it in two pieces: That the King remained quite astonished, and speaking angerly, *How! now I believe that you are a fool:* and that he answered, *It is true Sir that I am a fool, and could wish I were more so, so that I alone in France were one.* That at his departing from the Gallery, the King entred into his Closet, and demanded a pen and inke, and that he believed it was to write another. However it were, this promise caused much trouble afterward: for the Lady would have made it valid, as we shall speak.

He pursues at Rome the decision of the Marquisate of Saluces.

At the same time that the King pursued the dissolution of his first marriage at Rome, he made likewise instance to the holy Father, that he would decide the difference concerning the restitution of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, the Decision of which had been referred to him by the Treaty of *Vervin*.

How that Marquisate appertained to him.

To understand this well, it must be known that this Marquisate was a *Fief* dependant of the *Daulphinat*, of which King *Francis* the first had seized himself by right of reversion, for default of heirs Males in the Succession

Succession of the Lords that held it. Now in Part III
 1588. during the Estates of *Blois*, the Duke
 of *Savoy* having advice that the League be-
 came very strong in *France*, and that appa-
 rently that Monarchy would dismember, How the
 seized this Marquisate, without having any Duke of
 Savoy
 seized it.
 subject of quarrel: he cloaked only this un-
 just usurpation with this fair pretext, that he
 seized it out of fear lest *Lesdiguieres* should
 possess himself of it, and by this means esta-
 blish *Hugonotism* in the midst of his Terri-
 tories.

Seven years after, to wit, in the year 1595.
 the King being gone to *Lyons*, after the bat-
 tle of *Fountain-françoise*, the Duke, who fore-
 saw well he would again have this Marquisate,
 proposed to him some accommodation for it. An accom-
 modation
 spoke of.
 The King offered to give it to one of his Sons,
 to hold it at faith and homage, with some
 other conditions; but the Duke demanded it
 without any dependance, and so this Nego-
 tiation was broken. He offers it
 to be held
 at faith
 & homage.

Our Ambassadors treating the general
 peace at *Vervin*, were not wanting instantly
 to demand the restitution of that *Fief*. Those
 of the Duke who assisted, alledged in favour
 of their Master, that piece appertained to him
 as being a *Fief* dependant of *Savoy*, and that
 he had more essential titles to prove that
 dependancy, which it was necessary to see, to
 decide the difference with knowledge of the
 cause. Now it would have taken up too much
 time to cause them to come from *Savoy*: And
 the

By the
 Treaty of
Vervin the
 business is
 remitted to
 the Popes
 Arbitration

Part III. the Popes *Nuncio* pressed the peace, for fear lest during these delays some accident might happen to break it quite: so that not to retard it, it was judged convenient to refer to the Pope the decision of this affair, on condition that he should terminate it in a year.

The *French* during that time solicited strongly at *Rome* to have it decided. The *Savoyards* defended it onely at extremity, and that for fear to lose their cause by default. Both the one and the other produced their Titles: Those of the *French* were the best, and moreover, they had had a peaceable possession of more then sixty years, which was more then sufficient to gain prescription. The year being expired, the Pope demands of the King the prolongation of two months, to give in his sentence of Arbitration, and that in the mean time the *Marquisate* should be sequestered in his hands. The King willingly consents, but the Duke enters into a mistrust that the Pope would have it for one of his Nephews: so that his Ambassador having testified this mistrust, the Pope refuses to meddle any farther, either with the Gage or with the Arbitration.

The Duke imagined that his best way was to use delays, since it might happen that either the *French* King would grow weary of following of this business, or that some other more important affair might divert his thoughts otherwhere. Moreover, knowing that there were many melancholy spirits, who

who could not be recovered out of that opinion that the King was still in his heart a Hugonot, and with them many concealed and dangerous enemies, so that no year passed but with many conspiracies against his person, he hoped that in the end some of them might succeed. In effect, that year there had been three discovered, of which that which made most noise was of a woman, who offered to the Count of *Soissons* to poison him; but the Count discovered it, and she was buried alive in the *Greve*.

To the end therefore to gain time, he desired to come himself into France, having so good an opinion of his own cunning and lights, that he assured himself he should obtain of the King the gift of this Marquisate; or at least he pretended to make such propositions, and to employ so many artifices, that there should pass more then a year before he should untangle them. He said that his Ambassador had sent him word, that he had heard the King say, that if they were together, they would decide this difference like friends; and that it was this good word had set him on his voyage. But many suspected, and that with some appearance, that he had a design to gain some people in the Kings Council, to sound the affections, and observe and watch the discontented; to cast abroad seeds of corruption and division, and renew that intelligence might be useful to him at Court. Others imagined

He would
come to
France to
confer with
the King.

Part III. imagined that he was discontented with *Spain* because *Philip* the second having given the Low-Countries in Dower to his youngest Daughter, he had left to the eldest, wife of this Duke, only a Crucifix and an Image of our Lady. Moreover, he had indeed received some displeasures from the Ministers of *Spain*; and he spread a report abroad, were it true or not, that he had undertaken this voyage without communicating any thing to *Philip* the third his Brother-in-law. In fine, every one judged according to his fancy; and possibly none divined the secrets of his thoughts, there being never any Prince more close or less penetrable then he. And some said his Heart was covered with mountains, as well as his Country; that is, because that he was Hulch-back't, as *Savoy* was mountainous.

His Train. He brought with him a Train which well set forth his degree: for he had with him twelve hundred horse: but all his Officers were clad in mourning, by reason of the death of his Wife; which many took as an ill-presage. The King desiring to receive him according to his dignity, commanded all the Cities and the Governours to render him the same honour as if he were there in person.

The King causes him to be well received every where.

He passes Lyons.

He came to *Lyons* by the River of *Roan*, and was received by *la Guiche* Governour of that City. But the Chapter of *St. John* would not give him the place of Canon and Count of that Church, because he no longer possessed the County of *Villars*, by virtue of which the

the Counts of *Savoy* had been at other times received. Adding to this, that he had not his Titles, nor would give time to make proof of his Nobility; of which the Chapter dispences not with any whatsoever beside our Kings. Part III.

From *Lyons* he came to *Rouma*, descended by water to *Orleans*, and after came post to *Fontain-bleau*, where the King was. He arrived the twentieth of *December*, accompanied with seventy horse: and presently to acquire confidence with him, he lamented highly against the *Spaniards*; discovered, or feigned to discover to him his most secret thoughts, and a designe he had to drive them out of *Italy*. Arrives at *Fontain-bleau* where the King is

He told him his friends, his ways, and his intelligences for that: he would make him believe that he would open his heart to him; that he was an absolute French-man, and desired to fix himself to the interests of *France* without reserve. His address to gain confidence with the King,

The King hearkned to him with attention, and thanked him for his good thoughts: but after all, he finished with this: who is as subtile as himself;

I am of opinion that we should decide first those affairs between us, and then talk of others.

Three days after, the King went to *Paris*, where they were to discourse more amply on the subject had brought him into *France*. and carries him to *Paris*.

Now was the beginning of the last year of the fifteenth Age, which is counted the One thousand six hundredth, celebrated for the Centenary Jubilee, which was opened at *Rome*. Overture of the Centenary Jubilee at *Rome*.

There were found there four and twenty

R

thou-

Part III thousand *French*; some moved by devotion, others by curiosity: among which, there was a good number of *Hugonots*, who went to see the great Ceremony. They might do it with all security: for during the great *Jubilee*, the Inquisition ceases at *Rome*; where at other times it is much less rigorous than in *Spain*. The Duke of *Bar* was in a concealed habit at this *Jubilee*: he went to demand absolution of the holy Father; but his submission, how great soever, could not obtain it; nor had he it till the death of *Madam Katherine* his Wife.

Great Demonstrations of friendship between the King and Duke.

How the Duke lived in the King's Court.

The beginning of this year beheld the King and the Duke of *Savoy* live with so much familiarity, and so many proofs of friendship, that it was believed that they had both but the same heart. The *French* Courtesie and Civility obliged the King to give the Duke all sorts of good Treatments; and the desire which the Duke had to obtain from him the Marquisate, moved him to a great Complacency, and to seek all means to render himself agreeable to so great a King. The Court of *France* avowed it had never seen a more perfect Courtier; the Ladies, a more pleasing Gallant; and the Officers of the King and the great ones, a Prince more liberal. He knew how to govern himself in such manner with the King, that he neither acted his Companion nor his Servant: and if he would appear inferior to him in Grandeur, he endeavoured to be superiour to him in Generosity and Liberality:

liberty:

liey gave with full hands, especially to the principal men of the Court. The King permitted them to accept his presents, and on his side gave very great ones to the Duke: he treated him, and made the Chiefs of the Court treat him; every day shewing him some new subject of divertisement. Among other things, he desired that he should see his Parliament; which our Kings have usually shewn to strange Princes, as a *Compendium* of their greatness, and the place where their Majesty sits with the greatest splendour. They went together into the * *Lantern* of the great Chamber, where they with great delight heard pleaded a very singular Cause, chosen of purpose; and the sentence or agreement pronounced by *Harlay* first President; a Personage so grave and so eloquent, that all which came from his mouth seemed to come from that of Justice herself.

There was no Civility or Courtesie which the King shewed not to the Duke: but after all, he released not to him the Marquisate. The Duke tryed the business all ways possible: sometimes he offered to hold it in homage from the Crown; sometimes he proposed to the King his great Designs on the *Milanois*, and on the Empire; sometimes he laid before him the platform of a puissant League to destroy the *Spaniard* in Italy. But the King was too wise * to be gulled by gilded shadows: he took *Tendre le Change*, which is taken for flying out at a like hounds of Riot.

The King shews him his Parliament.

* A place I suppose so called, which looked into the Parliament-House, and where they might see and not be seen.

Yet the King releases not to him the Marquisate

* The French hath

Part III. answered, That he had no ambition to conquer the Estate of another, but onely to recover his own: That he would not speak of this Affair to the Duke, but that they ought refer that to their Council. In effect, they named some persons, who conferred together: but those of the King insisting dayly on its restitution; and the Duke endeavouring to free it to himself, nothing was concluded.

Yet though all hopes were wanting to the Duke of obtaining any thing, he lost not at all his Courage, but trusted to the secret intelligences he had renewed with some great ones of the Court, and particularly with the Duke of Byron. Many believe that he began now to debauch him; and that to this effect he served himself of one named *Lassin*, a Gentleman of *Bourgongne*, of the house of *Beauvais la Nocle*; but the most pernicious and most traiterous Fellow that could be found in *France*; he making a Trade of carrying Tales from one to another. The King knew him well; and often seeing him very familiar with *Byron*, he had the goodness to tell the Marshall more then once, *Let not that man approach you; he is a plague; he will ruine you.*

The Duke not succeeding, it is believed he endeavoured to debauch *Byron* by the means of *Lassin*.

The Duke knew that *Byron* loved the King, because he had raised him to the greatest Dignities of his Realm; and that the Prince likewise honoured him with his Good-will. It was therefore necessary to make him loose this affection, to render him capable of any evil designe.

Byron

Byron was without doubt brave and valiant Part III.
 to the utmost; but so puffed up with his Gallan- The vani-
 try, that he could not suffer any person to equal him. After the peace of Vervin, not hav- ties of Byron
 ing any thing more to do, he continually become in-
 boasted of his great Actions: according to his supportable
 own words, he had done all: and he intox-
 icated himself in such manner with his own
 praise, that he raised his own Valour above He esteems
 the Kings. He believed that he ought him his himself
 Crown, that he could refuse him nothing, and more then
 that he should govern him absolutely. These the King,
 Bravadoe's pleased not the King; he was trou- who takes
 bled that his Subject should think that he dis- gust at
 equalled him in Valour; but much more, that it.
 he should have the presumption to hope to
 govern him, who had ten times more brains
 and good judgement then the Marshal.

"It is certainly a noble Ambition, and not A good and
 "onely well placed, but absolutely necessary important
 "for a King, to believe none of his Subjects Reflection.
 "more worthy then himself. When he hath
 "not this good opinion of himself, he lets
 "himself be governed by him whom he be-
 "lieves a more able man then himself; and by
 "this means soon falls into Captivity: there-
 "fore though he may be deceived, he ought
 "still to esteem himself the most capable per-
 "son to govern in his whole Realm. I may
 "say rather, that he cannot deceive himself in
 "this, because there is no person more proper
 "then himself, however ignorant he be to
 "rule his Estate, God having destined this

Part III. "Function to him, and not to others; and
 "the people being always disposed to receive
 "Commands when they come out of a sacred
 "Mouth.

Henry the Great had therefore taken some disgust against the Marshal of Byron by reason of his vanity; so that the Duke of Savoy, praising one day the Noble Actions and great Services of Byron, both Father and Son, the King answered, "*That it was true, they had served him well, but that he had taken great pains to moderate the drunkenness of the Father, and the violent passions of the Son.*" The Duke remembred these words, and caused them to be carried by Laffin to Byron, who, touched in his most sensible part, was transported to a thousand extravagancies; and having lost all respect, lost likewise that affection he had left for the King. It hath been suspected that he at present abandoned himself to all manner of wicked designs, and that he promised to enter into a League which the Savoyard was to make with the King of Spain, on condition that he gave him his Daughter in marriage, and assisted him to make himself Duke of Bourgogne.

After that the Duke of Savoy had remained more then two moneths in the Court of France, shewing, as the Proverb says, *A merry Countenance at an ill game*; and shadowing his discontent with an apparent joy, but not knowing how to return without shame, nor how to stay longer without any fruit: The King,

The Duke
 causes to be
 carried to
 Byron some
 disadvantageous
 words of
 the Kings.

King, who would not give him subject to say Part III. that he had treated him with the utmost rigour, gave him to understand, that if the Marquitate was so commodious to him, and that he could not restore it without a notable inconveniency, he would be content to take *la Bresse* in exchange. This Condition seemed no less hard to the Duke then that of the restitution of the Marquitate: however, that he might have some pretext to retire with honour, he seemed not averse to it; and there were some Articles drawn up, which he professed were not disagreeable to him: But he demanded time to consider of the Alternative of the Restitution or Change, and to take advice of the Grantees of his Estate on so important a thing. There were granted him to this purpose three entire moneths, which was to the end of *February* in the year sixteen hundred.

The King proposes to the Duke the exchange of the Marquitate for *la Bresse*.

The Duke seems not averse, but takes three moneths to consider.

He takes leave of the King, who accompanies him to *Charenton*.

Some had counselled the King to arrest him. The Kings noble Answer.

A little after he took leave of the King, who conducted him to *Pont de Charenton*; and gave order to the Baron of *Lux*, and to *Praslin*, to accompany him to the Frontier. He returned by *Champagne* and *Bourgogne*, from which he entered *la Bresse*, and went to the *Bourg*. They had great joy to see him arrived, because they feared lest he should be arrested in *France*. Indeed some there were would have counselled the King to have kept him till such time as he should restore the Marquitate: but the King, much offended at this Proposition, answered in anger, *That they studied to disho-*

Part III. *nour him; but that he should chuse rather to loose his Crown, then to incur the least suspicion of having falsified his Faith, even to the greatest of his enemies.*

The three months expired, the King presses the Duke to chuse either the change, or the restitution. The Duke presses the Council of Spain to help him.

The Count of Fuentes comes to this purpose to Milain, but too late

The three moneths being expired, and the Duke not having satisfied his promise, the King was troubled, and pressed him to resolve either on the one or the other interchange. The Duke finds new delays, but promises him daily that he will satisfie him. In the meantime he remonstrates to the Council of Spain the danger in which he was; that the loss of the Marquisate would put him in such an estate, that he should not have the power to serve the Spaniards: that it would open a door to the French to go trouble Italy; and that this tempest, after having laid waste his Country, would fall upon Milain. The Council of Spain apprehended well the importance; but acting very slowly, were a long time before they resolved. In fine, the Count of Fuentes, Governour of Milain, had order, but two moneths later then was necessary puissantly to assist this Prince. He came to this effect to Milain, but too late; where, with two Millions of Gold which were ready, he begins to make great preparations.

After that the Duke had by divers Artifices drawn out the Negotiation almost two moneths longer, the King, wearied with these delays, prepared himself to bind this Proteus, who changed himself into all sorts of forms; and to force him to give a certain answer,

swer. He advanced to *Lyons*, whither he had before sent his Council. The Duke, knowing that he approached, had recourse to other cunning: he sent to him three Ambassadors, who conjointly proposed an Act, by which they declared that their Master was ready to accomplish the Treaty made at *Paris*; and that he promised to restore the Marquisate: but he of the three who had the secret, refused to signe the Articles till first the Duke had shewed them to his Council, and signed them. By this trick the Duke yet gained seven or eight days time: but the King resolved to press him to a conclusion, still followed his trace, discovered his deceits, and left him no further subterfuge: he was forced therefore to answer positively; and he promised to surrender the Marquisate by the sixteenth of *August*.

Upon this assurance, the King caused to advance *le Bourg-l'Espinaffe*, an old Colonel of Infantry, with the Troops of the *Suisses*, to take possession of the Marquisate. As he approached, the Duke took off his Mask, and answered clearly, That according to the Conditions proposed, War was less sharp to him than Peace. Wherefore the King was obliged to come to that point to which he had long foreseen he should come, to wit, an open War: he declared it therefore on the eleventh of the moneth of *August*; but with these expresse terms, That he did it onely for the Marquisate, and without prejudice to the Treaty

Part III.
The King again presses the Duke to chuse the change or restitution

He promises positively to surrender the Marquisate.

But when the King sends his forces, he takes off his mask, and refuses

The King declares war against him.

Part. III. Treaty of *Vervin*, which he desired to observe inviolably.

He gives
advice of it
to the
neighbour-
ing Princes
At the same time he gave advice of this rupture to all the neighbouring Princes, and made them understand the just reasons he had. This great King knew well, that among Christians the breach of peace is extremely odious; and that without reasons, which strongly convince our spirits, we ought never to trouble the publick tranquillity.

He was at present at *Grenoble*, where he had to begin this War only three or four Companies of Ordinance. Some proposed to him, to cause his Regiment of Guards to advance: he answered, that he would not send them from him; that they were the tenth Legion, which never fought without **Caesar*. But in a little time the *French* Nobility and the Adventurers flocked to him on all sides, as as if they had come to a Marriage or a Ball.

Byron con-
quers all
la *Bresse*.
The Marshal of *Byron*, though already disgusted, having gathered some Troops, spoiled the Country of *Bresse* in many places: with his Canon he forced the City of *Bourg*; but the Cittadel defended it self better, and proved indeed the onely difficulty in this War. *Creguy* entring into *Savoy*, gained the City of *Montmelian* about midnight, but not the Castle.

The Pope
Alarm'd
at this War
sends to the
King.
The Pope Alarm'd by the first sparkles of this fire, and fearing lest it should enflame all *Italy*, employed himself immediately to extinguish

anguish it: he dispatcht a Prelate, who bore Part III.
the title of Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to
remonstrate unto him the inconveniences of
this rupture, and to conjure him in the
name of God not to pass farther. The King
assured him that he had no design to trouble
the peace of *Italy*; that he was a Christian
and just Prince; that God had given him
a Kingdom sufficient to content him, but that
he desired to have what belonged to his
Crown; that if he had had other more vast de-
signs, he had made greater preparations.

THE KINGS
good and
Christian
answer.

Few days after he departed, and entred
himself into *Savoy*. His presence so much as-
tonished the City of *Chambery*, that they made
the Garison depart by a quick Capitulation.
He made himself after master of *Tarentaise*
and *La Morienne*, by taking in two or three
days the City of *Conflans*, and that of *La Char-
bonniere*; which till then had passed for im-
pregnable.

The King
enters
Savoy.

Yet the Duke of *Savoy* moved not: he
was so little concerned, that he Hunted and
Danced whilst his Provinces were despoiling;
he seemed not to be the adversary but the
spectator: his subjects likewise seemed not
much astonished at the Kings Progress; they
said, that if he took any places in *Savoy*, their
Duke would take others in *France*. It could
not be divined from whence this great securi-
ty proceeded: some believed that the Duke
assured himself on I know not what Prognos-
tics of Astralogs, who had foretold,

Yet the
Duke stir-
not.

He trusts
some vain
predictions
of Astrolo-
gers.

Part III. that in the month of *August* there should be no King in *France*; that which happened to be very true, for at that time he was victorious in the midst of *Savoy*. Others believed that the Duke yet trusted to the intelligences he had with the Marshal of *Biron*, whose fidelity much shaken by his artifices while he was in *France*, was now near entirely debauched by those grand Subjects of discontent this Marshal had received since this War. For the King testified, that he put not so much trust in him, nor treated him with the same freedom he had done before; and he committed the principal direction of this Conquest to *Lefdignieres*, who indeed better knew the Country, and the manner of making War in those Mountains than he. This Preference furiously incensed such a high spirit, who believed nothing either could or ought to be done without him. Afterwards the refusals of the King to give him the Government of the City of *Bourg*, put him quite out of his senses. From this time he had none but extravagant and criminal thoughts, and began, as it was said, to treat a League with the *Savoyard*, for the re-kindling a new Civil War in *France*. I cannot relate the particulars of this design, because they were never well known.

The Duke of *Savoy* believed his Fortresses of *Montmelian* in *Savoy*, and of *Bourg* in *Bresse* impregnable, reposing the security of his Country upon them. He was much surprised

prized to understand that the Marquis of Part III.
Brandis Governour of the fort, had capitulated to surrender it in a certain time. Upon it, he put himself in the field, and used all his endeavours to get into an estate to relieve it. He had recourse to the assistance of the *Spaniards*; but the Count of *Euentes*, who desired to engage affairs farther, refused him forces in his need, and in the meantime the term of the capitulation being finished, he lost *Montmelian*, to the great astonishment of his Subjects, and no less shame to *Brandis*. Want of Victuals and Ammunition, made him likewise in some weeks lose the Citadel of *Bourg*, which the Governour held out to the last extremity. The King passing by the side of *Geneva*, submitted the Country of the *Chablais* and the *Fausigni*. The inhabitants of *Geneva* took the Fort of *St. Katherine*, which the *Savoyards* had built to annoy them, and demolished it. After the taking of this, the King would visit *Geneva*, so famous for being one of the Ramparts of the Protestant Religion. *Theodorus Bexa* the chief as well in age as in Doctrine of all the *Hugonot* Ministers, made him a Speech in few words. The *Marshal de Byron* having considered the place which the inhabitants had been forty years fortifying, with great care and expence, whether to make himself esteemed a great Captain, or to shew the great zeal he had for the Catholic Religion, boasted he could take it in twenty

In fine, the Duke takes the field, but does nothing.

The Citadel of *Montmelian* taken,

and that of *Bourg*.

and fort *St. Katherine*.

The King visits *Geneva*.

to speak

twenty days. A speech the King was not pleased with, because *France* had taken it under its Protection, since the Reign of *Francis* the first; and was obliged to defend it against the Duke of *Savoy*, who pretended that Seignory belonged to him.

The Pope endeavours a peace, and sends to that purpose his Nephew Legat.

In the meantime, the Pope desiring above all things to extinguish the fire of this War, had dispatched towards the King and towards the Duke, his Nephew the Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, who incessantly laboured to make a peace. His greatest difficulty was to find knots strong and sure enough to hold the Duke of *Savoy*; for those of his promises and his faith were so uncertain and so slippery, that he could not trust them.

The King comes to Lyons, where his Queen expected him.

At the same time the King, whose thoughts of his marriage the War had not interrupted, embarked on the *Rhône*, and went down to *Lyons*; where the Queen his new Spouse was arrived, and expected him.

The Legat likewise comes, and the Ambassadors of *Savoy*.

The Legat would not discontinue the Treaty of peace; he followed him to *Lyons* for that purpose; where he made his entrance fifteen days after the Queen. The Ambassadors of *Savoy* followed him; but their power was given in such terms, that the Duke might find ways to disavow it. However, when they saw the Citadel of *Pont* reduced to extremity, they instantly solicited the Legat to renew the first earnest of the Treaty. But he would do nothing till they had given it him in writing, that they besought it for the

the good of their Masters affairs.

Part III

When the Articles were drawn up and agreed, they were signed on the one part and the other, and the peace was published at Lyons the seventeenth of January 1601. by which the Duke yeilded to the King, and to his Successors Kings of France, the Country and Seignories of *Bresse*, *Bugey*, and *Veromey*, and generally all that appertained to him lying along the River *Rhone*, from the egress of *Geneva*; as likewise the Bailiwick and Barony of *Gex*; and that in exchange of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, which the King absolutely left to him, both for himself and his. The Treaty agreed likewise, that all the places taken by the King from the Duke of *Savoy*, should be restored; but all the Kings pretended rights against the said Duke, should be reserved to him; according as was contained in the Treaties of *Cateau in Cambresis*, and of *Vervin*.

1610.

The peace agreed, signed and published at Lyons.

By this exchange, both the one and the other equally gained. The King for a Marquisate of little extent, distant from all his Territories, and encompassed by those of *Savoy*, and which he could not keep but by great Garrisons, which would consume twice more than the Revenue it yeilded; gained a Country of more then twenty five Leagues extent, which was bounding upon his, which enlarged his Frontier, in which he had eight hundred Gentlemen, and which was very fertile and abundant, principally in pastures to nourish Cattel.

They both gain by the exchange.

Part III. Cattel. The Duke appropriating to himself the Marquisate, took a troublesome Thorn out of his foot, or rather a Sword which pierced through his body; and put himself in security. For whilst the French held it, he durst not go out of *Turin* but with three or four hundred horse for his Convoy; and he was forced to maintain great Garisons in the middle of his Country.

After, the King goes to *Paris* followed by the Queen. He carries her to see his buildings.

The Treaty being signed, the King departed from *Lyons* by Post, to return to *Paris*; whither the Queen followed him by little journies. Some time after her arrival, he led her to see his buildings of *St. Germain in Laye*. This was one of his delights, and certainly a very innocent one, and which agrees well with a powerful Prince, after he hath paid his great debts, and eased his people of their heavy load of oppressive Impositions. "For by raising these proud Edifices, he
 "leaves the fair marks of his greatness and
 "riches to posterity; he embellishes his
 "Kingdom, attracts the admiration of his
 "people, makes strangers know that his Co-
 "fers swell with Treasure, gives life and
 "bread to a great number of poor handy-
 "crafts-men, labours profitably for his own
 "conveniency and for that of his Successors;
 "and in fine, makes Architecture, Sculpture,
 "and painting flourish; which have ever
 "been infinitely esteemed by all the most
 "Polite nations of the world.

Our

Our Henry took not this divertisement, but to recreate his spirit after labours, and not to employ it. "For he had his soul too great, and his genius too elevated, to dedicate it self wholly to such mean things, much less to fix it on vain amusements. It is true, that he built, that he hunted, that he was merry; but this was without diverting himself too much from his affairs, without abandoning the helme of his estate, which he held as firmly and diligently during the Calme, as during the Tempest.

Moreover, he had a care not to grow sleepy whilst it was fair weather, which is often deceitful: for besides that a good King ought to labour within his Estate during peace, as well as without during war; he knew that the *Spaniard* and the *Savoyard* still grumbled, and contrived in their hearts some enterprize against him. The Count of *Fuentes* having raised a great army to assist the *Savoyard*, was troubled that the peace had deprived him of the occasion to employ them. Some places he had taken in *Picardy* during the War between the two Crowns, had created a vanity in him, and made him believe that he should alwaies gain the advantage over the *French*. At the same time the King of *Spain* had put to sea a Naval Army, commanded by one *Doria*; which had without doubt some designe on *Provence*, if the peace had not been made. And though it was concluded, *Fuentes* ceased not to make an attempt of an enterprize upon *Marseilles*, the peace.

Part III.
He diversified, but never employed himself about buildings. An excellent reflection.

Count *Fuentes* would surprize *Marseilles* to break

Part III.

His people
might be
intrapped
by counter-
intelli-
gence; but
the King
will not.

Marseilles, to cause a rupture. Those with whom he held intelligence to this purpose offered the King to draw six or seven hundred men into the snare, and keep them prisoners, or cut them in pieces. But the King judged not so little advantage to countervail the giving subject to the enemies to break the peace, and to re-enter into a War; which might have proved very dangerous, they being so powerfully Armed. Moreover, he feared lest there were still in his Estate some fire concealed under the embers; which on the noise of a War, might more facilely make their attempts upon his person. For to tell the truth, he had more reason to fear their Knives and Daggers then their Swords. He therefore wisely dissembled this enterprize, and answered the *Marseillians*: That he knew not how to steal a victory; that ambuscadoes were not honest, but onely during War; and that it was necessary for his honour to take care that he did not in any manner contribute to this rupture, the enemies had a design to make.

The Spaniards turn
their Arms
against the
Infidels.

The Duke
of Merceur
commands
the Empe-
ro rs forces
and dies.

In fine, the Spaniards having found that this wise Argus had too many eyes, and too much vigilance to be surprized on any side; resolved to employ their Arms in pious and honorable enterprizes. A part of their Land Army passed into Hungary, which was at that present assaulted by the *Turks*. The Duke of Merceur being gone to seek in that Country a juster glory, then in the Civil-wars of France, commanded the Emperours forces.

He

He made known to the Infidels, by many gallant exploits, particularly by the memorable retreat of *Canise*, that the French valour was chosen by God to sustain the Christian Religion. Nor was there any doubt made, but that he would have quite chased them out of that Kingdom, of which they had invaded more then one half, if he had not died the year following of a burning Feavour, which seized him at *Nurembourg*, as he was about to go pay his devotions at the Shrine of the Lady of *Loretto*.

There arrived some time after an accident by which the King took occasion to let the *Spaniards* know, that he could not suffer any thing against his honour, nor against the dignity of his estate. *Rocheport* was his Ambassador in *Spain*. Some Gentlemen of his train, of which one was his Nephew, washing in the River chanced to have a quarrel with some *Spaniards*; and killing two, saved themselves in the Ambassadors house. The friends of the slain so much excited the people, that they besieged the house, and were ready to put fire to it. The Magistrate, to prevent the Tragick effects of this fury, was constrained to do an injustice, and to violate the freedom of the Ambassadors house; for he seized by force, and led the accused to prison. The King of *Spain* being troubled that he had violated the right of Nations, sent him to demand pardon of the Ambassador; yet the French men still remained prisoners.

Gentlemen of the Ambassador of France in *Spain*, kill some *Spaniards*.

The Magistrate violates the freedom of the Ambassadors house, and takes them out.

Part III.
Discourse
of the free-
dom of
Ambassa-
dors Pala-
ces.

There were made many discourses and writings concerning the rights and privileges of Ambassadors. It is true, said they, that an Ambassador hath alone right of Sovereign Justice in his Palace; but the people of his train are subject to the Justice of the estate in which they are; for those faults they commit out of his Palace; and so if they be taken but of it, their Process may be made; and though it be known that this rigour is not generally observed, and that the respect born to the Ambassadors person, extends to all those that follow him; yet however this is a courtesie, and not a right. But notwithstanding it is not permitted to go seek the Criminal in the Palace of the Ambassador, which is a sacred place, and a certain Sanctuary for his people; yet ought it not however to be abused, or made a retreat for wicked persons; nor give Sanctuary to the Subjects of a Prince against the Laws and Justice of his Realm: for in such cases, on complaint to his Master, he is obliged to do reason.

The King
being
offended,
recalls his
Ambassa-
dor.

Now the King being offended, as he ought to be, at the injury done to France in the person of his Ambassador; and not judging the satisfaction the Magistrate had given him sufficient; commands him immediately to return; which he did, without taking leave of the King of Spain. He forbade likewise at the same time, all Commerce with Spaniards: and foreseeing that in these beginnings of the rupture, they might enterprize somewhat on the

the Towns of *Picardy*, he with great diligence departed from *Paris* to visit that Frontier, and came to *Calais*.

Part III.
And goes in haste to *Calais* to visit his Frontier.

The people, who began to taste the sweetness of repose, and to Till their lands with patience, trembled for fear lest a new War should expose them once more to the Licence of the Souldiers. But God had pity of these poor people: The Pope becoming mediatour to remedy those mischiefs which threatened *Christendom*, happily accommodated the difference. The *Spaniard* remitted the Process and the Prisoners; whom his Holiness consigned some days after into the hands of the Count of *Bethune*, Ambassador for *France* at *Rome*; and the King afterwards sent an Ambassador into *Spain*, which was the Count of *Barrant*.

The Pope undertakes to accommodate the difference, and doth it.

Whilst the King was at *Calais*, whither as we have said he went, the Arch-Duke who was before *Ostend*, where he continued that Siege * the most famous that ever was since that of *Troy*, feared with some reason, lest the Kings approach should retard the progress of his enterprize, in which he had already lost so many men, so much time spent, so many Cannon shot, so much money, and such stores of Ammunition: he sent therefore to complement him, promising him on the part of *Spain* satisfaction for the violence done to the Lodgings of his Ambassador; but intreating him, that the besieged might not prevail themselves of this Conjunction.

The Arch-Duke besieging *Ostend*, sends to complement the King.

* This siege lasted three years, three months, and three days.

Part III. The King who never let himself be overcome by Courtesie no more then by Arms, sent the Duke of *Aiguillon*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Mayenne*, to assure him that he desired to maintain the peace; that he was not advanced on the Frontiers but to dissipate some designs which were contriving, and that he hoped in the equity of the King of *Spain*, which he doubted not would do him reason.

The Queen of England sends likewise to complement him: and he answers it by *Byron*.

Whilst he was at *Calais*, Queen *Elizabeth* sent likewise to visit him, by my Lord *Edmonds* her principal Confident. For answer to which obliging civility, he caused the Marshal of *Byron* to pass into *England*, accompanied by the Count d' *Auvergne*, and the choice of all the Nobility of the Court, to represent to her the displeasure the King had, finding himself so near her, that he could not enjoy the sight of her.

To whom she shews the Earl of *Essex* head

This Queen endeavoured by all means possible, to make known to the *French* her greatness and power. One day holding *Byron* by the hand, she shewed him a great number of heads planted on the Tower of *London*, telling him that in that manner they punished Rebels in *England*, and recounting to him the reasons she had to put to death the Earl of *Essex*, whom she had once so tenderly loved. Those who heard the discourse, remembered it afterwards, when they saw the Marshal *Byron* fallen into the same misfortune, and lose his head, after having

having lost the favour of his King.

We must not forget, how that before the King made his voyage to *Calais*, he had led the Queen with him to enjoy the *Jubilee* in the City of *Orleans*, where the holy Father had ordained the Stations for *France* to begin. His piety which was sincere and unfeigned, gave a fair Example to his people, who see him go to Processions with great devotion, and pray to God with no less attention; his heart agreeing with his lips. He laid the first stone to the foundation of the Church of the holy Cross at *Orleans*, which the *Hugonots* had miserably thrown down, forty years before; and gave a considerable sum of money to rebuild it.

The King & Queen enjoy the Jubilee at Orleans.

All *France* during this holy *Jubilee*, had instantly demanded of Heaven that it would be pleased to give them a *Daulphine*, to deliver them from those misfortunes wherein they should be plunged, if the King should die without Male-children. Their vows were heard, and the Queen happily brought to bed of a Son at *Fontainbleau*, on the day of St. *Cosmo*, being the twenty seventh of September. They gave him at his Baptism the Name of *Lewis*, so sweet and dear to *France* for the memory of the great St. *Lewis*, and of the good King *Lewis xii.* Father of the people. Afterwards was appropriated to him the surname of *Just*; and we at present believe his having been the Father of *Lewis the wise and victorious*, none of the least worthy of his Titles.

The Queen brought to bed of a Daulphine, who is named *Lewis*, after surnamed *The Just*.

Part III. **cles.** His Birth was preceded by a great Earthquake, which happened some days before. The Birth was very hard, and the infant laboured till he was all of a purple-colour, which possibly ruined within the principal Organs of Health and good Constitution. The King invoking on him the Benediction of Heaven, gave him likewise his, and put his Sword in his hand, praying to God, *That he would give him the grace to use it onely for his glory, and for the defence of the people.* The Princes of the Blood which were with him in the Chamber of the Queen, all of them saluted the *Daulphine* one after another. I omit how express Curriers carried this News into all the Provinces, the publick rejoycings throughout the whole Kingdome, particularly in the great City of *Paris*, who as much loved *Henry* the great, as they had hated his Predecessor; the Complements the King received on his part from all the Potentates of *Europe*; and the accustomed Present of the holy Father in like occasions, to wit, the blessed swathing bands, which he sent by *Seigneur Barbarino*, who was afterwards Cardinal and Pope, named *Urban* the *viii.*

Birth of the Five days before, the Queen of *Spain* was **Infanta of** brought to bed of her first Childe, which was *Spain*, named *Daughter*, whom at the Font of Baptism **med Anne;** they named *Anne*. The *Spaniards* rejoyced **who after** no less then if it had been a Son: for in that **espoused** Country the Females succeed to the Crown. **King Lewis** Those amongst the *French* who penetrated **thru,** far-

farthest into things to come, took likewise part in this joy, but for another reason, which was, that this Princess being of the same age with the *Dauphine*, it seemed that Heaven had made the one be born for the other, and that she ought one day be his Spouse; as in effect *Lewis xiii.* had this happiness, and *France* still possesses it; admiring in all occasions the rare Wisdom, the exemplary Piety, and heroick Constancy of this great Princess. Part III.

In acknowledgement of the grace which God had done to the King in giving him a *Dauphine*, which was the sum of his wishes, he redoubled his care and diligence to acquit himself well of what he ought to his Estate, to better, as he said, the succession of his Son. We will here recount some Establishments and Orders he made to that purpose. The King makes divers Orders for the good of the Estate.

Need of monies having obliged him during the Siege of *Amiens* to create Triennial Officers in his Revenues; when it was passed, he knew that there was no need of so many people to rife his purse; and that it was impossible but some little should every day remain in the hands of every one of these: and therefore he suppressed these new Officers, and commanded that the ancient and Alternative ones should re-imburse the Triennial. From this suppression were excepted the Treasurers of the Exchequer, and those of casual Forfeitures or Fines. He suppresses the Triennial Officers for Revenues.

Rosny had so well bridled both the Gatherers and the Farmers, that they could no longer

Part III. er devour those great Morsels they did heretofore. But this was not yet enough : they were in such manner gorged before he was Superintendent, that the King with infinite justice ordained a Tribunal, composed of a certain number of Judges chosen out of the Sovereign Courts, and called it, *The Chamber-Royal*; whom he charged to make an exact search of the misdemeanours of those who had managed the Kings monies. This Chamber made a great many disemboogie; however, a great part found the means to escape them; some out of a Consideration of their Alliances, others by force of money, gaining those who were near the King, principally his Mistresses, and corrupting the Judges themselves. "So much is it true that Gold pierces
 "every where, and that nothing is proof a-
 "gainst this pernicious Metal. We need not
 "then wonder if those people filled their Cof-
 "fers as full as they could, since the fuller
 "they heaped them, the more facile was their
 "justification.

I have already said it, and I say it again, (for it cannot be too often nor too much observed) that there is no remedy to hinder this disorder, which is the greatest of all disorders in the Estate, and the cause of all others, save onely the vigilance and exactness of the King. "He must himself hold the strings of his purse,
 "have his eye still upon his Coffers, know
 "punctually what is in them, what comes out
 "of them; what ways his monies accrue, to
 "what

He esta-
 blisheth a
 Chamber
 of Justice
 to call
 Treasurers
 and Colle-
 ctors to ac-
 count.

The onely
 remedy a-
 gainst their
 thefts.

what uses they are employed, who are they that manage them: and above all, he must make them give a good account, as our *Hon.* did, that if they be honest men, they can not be corrupted; and if they are knaves, not have the means to act their knavery.

He was made to know, that there were two other disorders in his Realm which extremely impoverished it, and drew from it all the Gold and Silver. The one was the transportation of it to strange Countries; into *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, where the little Potentates melted it, and made money of a baser Alloy. The other, was the Luxury which consumed likewise a great quantity in Embroideries, Silver and Gold Lace on Cloaths, and no less in the gilding of Wain-scoats and Chimnies, and divers Moveables.

He made two severe Edicts, which prohibited these two abuses. For the first, he renewed the ancient Orders concerning the transport of Gold and Silver; adding the punishment of the Flaker to the Transgressors; and commanding all Governours to watch diligently the Observation of these his Prohibitions, and not to give any Pass-ports to the contrary; otherwise he declared them partakers in such Transports.

The King prohibits the transport of gold or silver out of his Kingdome,

By the second, he prohibited under the penalty of great Fines for the first time, and of imprisonment for the second, the wearing of Gold and Silver upon Cloaths, or employing it in Gildings. This Edict was rigorously observed,

and wearing gold and silver lace, or gildings.

Part III. ved, because it excepted no person; the King himself submitting to the Law he made, and having looked with an ill Countenance on a Prince of the Blood who obeyed not this Reformation.

There was likewise expended a prodigious quantity of money in Silks; by the buying of which, all our money was gotten into strangers hands. The King seeing that, and considering that the use of these Stuffs was very good and commodious, thought it best to introduce the Manufacture into France; to the end the French might gain what was now gained by the strangers. To this purpose he gave order for the planting of a great number of white Mulberry-trees in those Countries where they would best thrive, and particularly in *Touraine*, to nourish Silk-worms; and that people should be provided who understood how to prepare the Webs, and put to work the labour of these pretious Caterpillers.

Introduces
the manu-
facture of
silk into
France.

If care had been taken after his death to maintain this Order, and to extend it to other Provinces, it might have spared *France* more than five Millions, which it every year sends out to provide silk Stuffs: besides, a Million of persons, useless for other labours, as are old people, Maids and Children, might have gained a living by it, and the Employers more easily have afforded to pay the Imposts and Taxes out of the profit they had made of their industry.

There was yet a much greater mischief, which,

Part III. interests. And it was for this reason that it was afterwards put at six, and may possibly one day be reduced lower.

His great care to enrich his Kingdom. Out of the same designe to enrich his people, and to bring abundance and plenty into his Kingdome, the King continually received all Proposals which might serve to enlarge Commerce, to bring Commodity to his people, and to till and make fruitful the most sterile places. He endeavoured as much as was possible to make Rivers Navigable. He caused to be repaired all Bridges and Causeways, and the great Roads to be paved, knowing that whilst they are not well kept, Carriages find but a difficult passage, and Commerce is by that means interrupted. From whence happen the same disorders in the economy of an Estate, as doth in that of a mans body, when it findes Obstructions, and when the passage of the blood and Spirits are not free.

When he passed through the Countries, he curiously regarded all things, took notice of the necessities and disorders, and immediately remedied all with a great diligence. Under

his favour and protection were established in many places of the Kingdom Manufactures of Linen and Woollen Cloths, Laces, Iron-ware, and many other things.

After his example, the Burgeses repaired their houses which the War had ruined. The Gentlemen having laid by their Arms with only a switch in their hand, dedicated them-

elves

gives to manage their Estates, and augment their Revenues. All the people were attentive to their work: and it was a wonder to see this Kingdom, which five or six years before had been, as we may say, a Den of Serpents and venomous Beasts, being filled with Thieves, Robbers, Vagrants, Rake-hells and Beggars, changed by the diligence of the King into a Hive of innocent Bees; who strove, as it were, with envy to each other, to give proofs of their industry, and to gather Wax and Honey. Idleness was a shame, and a kinde of Crime; and indeed it is, as the Proverb says, the Mother of all Vices. *"That spirit which takes no care to employ it self seriously in something, is unprofitable to it self, and pernicious to the publick."* And for these Reasons did the Provests in that time make diligent search after Loyerers, Vagabonds, and idle persons, and sent them to serve the King in his Gallies, to oblige them perforce to work.

Idleness
punished.

1602.
The King
remedies
two things
capable to
overthrow
France.

There is no happiness so stable and assured, but it may be easily troubled: there arrived this year two things which might have overturned all France, had not the King in a good hour subverted them.

The Assembly of the Notables or Chiefs at Ronen, which was held in the year 1596. to raise money for the King to continue the War and pay his debts, had granted him, as we have said, the imposition of a *Sol pour liure* on all Merchandizes carried into walled Cities. The Estate (says Tacitus, the greatest Politi-
cian

Part III. "tian among Historians) cannot be maintain-
 "ed without Forces, nor the Forces without
 "Payment, nor they paid without Impositi-
 "ons: by consequence therefore they are ne-
 "cessary; and it is just that every one should
 "contribute to the expences of an Estate of
 "which he makes a part, as well as partake of
 "those Conveniences and that protection it
 "enjoys. But these impositions ought to be
 "moderate, proportionate to the power of
 "every one; and every one ought to bear his
 "part. Moreover, it should be easie to per-
 "ceive that the expence of raising them ex-
 "ceed not the principal; that they be not
 "laid so, as to appear odious, as on Merchan-
 "dizes which nourish the poor: and that, in
 "fine, they be blood drawn gently from the
 "veins, and not marrow forced from the
 "bones. Now the imposition of a *Sol pour livre*

The tax of was of this nature. It was very oppressive:
 a *Sol pour* for in every City they searched the Merchants
livre bur- Goods, opened their Bales, and saw what e-
 then some. very one brought: so that liberty was quite
 lost in the Kingdom. Moreover, it was ex-
 cessive: for any Merchandize being ten or
 twelve times sold, it was found that it paid as
 much Impost as it was worth. Moreover,
 there was great expence in the sale of it: for
 men were forced to employ as many Factors
 as would have composed an Army: who de-
 firing all to make themselves rich as well as
 their Masters, were so vexatious to the Mer-
 chants, that they became desperate. And that

was most strange, was, that there were in the Part III
Kings Council Pensioners to these Farmers,
who supported them in their violences, and
upheld them against all Complaints made of
their misdemeanours.

The people are always subject to this Criminal Error, That when Justice is denied them, they may do it themselves; and have recourse to force, when their prayers cannot prevail. This is the cause of almost all seditions; and this is it which made all those beyond the *Loire*, incensed at this imposition, drive away the Factors, and, which is more, kill some of them. The Farmers on the other side sharpened the mischief by their furious threats, that they would dismantle the rebellious Cities, that they would build Citadels to keep them in awe. And I believe that these Gentlemen did desire it should be so, not out of love to the Kings Authority, which they had still in their mouths, but for their proper revenge, and particular advantage.

The King having advice of these Commotions, fearing lest they were raised by the Emis-
saries of the faction of the Duke of *Byron*, which he had then newly discovered, a little after *Easter* departed from *Fontainbleau*, came from *Blois*, and from thence to *Poitiers*.

The King
to appease
them, goes
to *Poitiers*.

There he favourably hearkned to the complaints of his people, and remonstrated to the Deputies of the Cities of *Guyenne*; That the *Imposts* raised were not to enrich his Ministers and Favourites, as his Predecessor had done; but

His wife
and just
remon-
stance to
the Depu-
ties of *Guy-
enne*.

Part III.

* He had
sold the
Lands of his
Patrimony.

He calms
the sediti-
ons, and
revokes
the *Sol pour
livre*.

Conspiracy
of the Mar-
shal Byron.

but to support the necessary charges of his Estate : That if his demerits had been sufficient for it, he would not have taken any thing out of his Subjects purses ; but since he had first employed all his * own, it was just they should contribute some of theirs : That he passionately desired the ease of his Subjects ; and that none of his Predecessors had so much desired their prayers to God as he, to bless the increase of his Realm : That those Alarms given them that he had a designe to build Castles in the Cities, were false and seditious ; for he desired to have no other Forts then in the hearts of his Subjects.

By these sweet Remonstrances, he calmed all the seditions, without having need of chastising them, save onely that the Consuls of Limoges were deposed, and the *Pancarte* (for so it was they called the *Sol pour livre*) established. But this was onely for the honour of the Royal Authority : for soon after, this Prince, the most just and best that ever was, knowing the extream Vexations it caused, revoked and utterly abolished it.

The second thing which gave him yet more trouble, and which was capable to overthrow his Kingdome if it were not remedied, was, The Conspiracy of Marshal Byron. It is to be understood, that *Laffin* had been the principal Instrument of intelligence between the Marshal and the Duke of Savoy : he had carried and re-carried Letters, and had had some Conferences with the Duke and with the Count of Fuentes ; so that he understood the whole intrigue.

trigue. But seeing that there was no assurance in the words of the *Savoyard*, and that *Byron* began to shake, he resolved to discover the whole plot to the King; were it that he feared lest if he should too long delay it, it might be discovered other ways; or that he hoped by this service to gain a great recompence, and restore himself to the Kings favour, with whom he stood on very ill terms.

Liffin discovers it to the King.

Having laid this designe, he employed the **Vidame* of *Chartres* his Nephew, to obtain from the King his Grace and Oblivion of all passed, on condition that he discovered to him the Complices of the Conspiracy, and furnished him with proofs. He had preserved several Letters committed to his keeping; but they said not enough, nor spoke so clearly as to make a Conviction. But to pass an absolute one, see what he did.

* *Vidame* is a Lord who holds his Lordship in Fief of a Bishop.

Byron had some Notes written with his own hand, wherein the Conspiracy was laid down in Articles. *Liffin* remonstrated to him, that it was an imprudence to keep them, and to communicate them; because his writing was too well known: that it would be more secure to make a Copy, and burn the Original. *Byron* approving his counsel, gives them him to transcribe. He indeed transcribes them whilst *Byron* lay on his Bed: afterwards giving him the Copy, and ruffling up the Original, he makes shew of casting it into the fire; but by a premeditated cunning, he casts in some other Papers, and keeps them. A thing of this

How he got the Notes written with *Byron's* own hand.

Part III. importance deserved well the care of Byron himself in its burning: but he not taking it, because God so permitted, that negligence cost him his life, as we shall see.

After this, *Laffin* continuing still his devices to endeavour yet to gather some more particular secrets, he went disguised to *Milan*, and conferred with the Count *Fuentes*: but this close and able *Spaniard*, finding well that he would betray them, shewed himself more reserved. It hath been reported, that *Laffin* having knowledge of this distrust, was fearful lest he should make him away, and therefore returned by the unusual and unfrequented ways: of which the Duke of *Savoy* being advertized by *Fuentes*, kept prisoner the Secretary of *Laffin* named *Renaze*, for fear lest he should go serve as a witness against *Byron*.

The Duke of Savoy keeps *Renaze Laffins* Secretary.

Propositions betwixt *Byron*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Count *Fuentes*.

In their Conferences they had proposed to dismember the Kingdom of *France*: That the Duke of *Savoy* should have *Provence* and the *Daulphinat*; *Byron*, *Bourgongne* and *la Bresse*, with the third Daughter of the Duke in marriage, and fifty thousand Crowns for Dower: some others should be Lords of other Provinces, with the quality of Peers: That all these little Sovereigns should hold their right from the King of *Spain*: That to compass this designe, the *Spaniards* should with a puissant Army enter the Kingdom, and the *Savoyard* with another: That they should canse the *Hugonots* to stir, and at the same time revive many discontentments in several places, and animate the

peo-

people, already much incensed by the *Pancarte*, Part III.
or Tax of a *Sol pour livre*.

All these propositions, say some, were made in the time of the war against *Savoy*; and the Marshal of *Byron* grown outrageous, at the Kings refusal to give him the Citadel of *Bourg*, had not only lent his eare, but had engaged himself very far in these damnable designs. However, he seemed to have repented himself: for he had confessed them to the King walking with him in the Cloister of the *Cordeliers* at *Lions*, and had demanded pardon of him; but he had neglected to take an abolition or script of indemnity, contrary to the advice of the Duke d' *Espernon*, who was more wise and considerate then he.

Byron had demanded pardon of the King, but after fell again.

But a little after, repenting himself for having repented, he was returned to his first fault, and yet entertained correspondence with strangers. Moreover, he spoke of the King with little respect, abasing the splendor of his worthy actions, glorifying his own, and boasting that he had put the Crown on his head, and preserved *France*. In fine, all his discourses were onely Bravadoes, Rhodomontadoes, and Threats.

He speaks ill of the King, and boasts excessively of himself.

All this was reported to the King: It was told him that he undervalued his great acts, extolled the power of the King of *Spain*, prayed the wisdom of that Princes Council, his liberality in recompensing all good services, and his zeal to defend the true Religion. The King answered plainly and prudently to

those

Part III. those that made him these reports: *That he knew the heart of Byron, that it was faithful and affectionate: that in truth his tongue was intemperate; but that in favour of those good actions he had done, he could pardon his ill discourses.*

Two things
compleat
his loss.

Now two things compleated his loss, and obliged the King to search into the very bottom of his wicked designs. The first was the too great number of his friends, and the affection of the Souldiery, which he made boast of, as if they had been absolute dependants on his Command, and capable to do whatever he would. The second, the most particular friendship he had with the *Count d' Auvergne*, brother by the Mothers side to *Mademoiselle d' Entragues*, who was called the Marchioness of *Vernueil*. For by the one he begat a jealousy in the King, and made himself be feared; and by the other he rendred himself odious to the Queen, who imagined, and possibly not without cause, that he would make a party in the Kingdom to maintain that Rival and her Children, to her prejudice.

Laffin
comes to
Court, and
reveals all
to the
King.

Now the King desiring to search the farthest he could into this affair, sends for *Laffin*, who comes to *Fountain-bleau*, more then a month before the King departed towards *Poitou*. He had at first some very secret entertainments with him, afterwards very public ones; and gave him great quantities of Papers; amongst other, those *Memoires* or Notes written by *Byrons* own hand, of which

we

we have before spoken. That which *Laffin* Part III.
revealed to the King, begat great inquietudes
in his spirit; so that in all the voyage of
Poitiers he was observed extremely penfive;
and the Court after his example was plunged
in a sad astonishment; though none could
divine the cause of it.

At his return from *Poitiers* to *Fountain-bleau*, he sent for the Duke of *Byron* to come
to him. The Duke at first doubted to go,
and excused himself with many weak reasons.
He presses him, and sends to him some of his
Esquires; afterwards the President *Janin*
brought him word that he should receive no
harm; which was, provided he put himself
into an estate to receive grace, and aggravated
not his crime, by his pride and by his im-
penitence.

The King
sends for
Byron to
Court, who
at first ex-
cuses him-
self.

Byron knew that *Laffin* had made a voyage
to Court; but he was more assured of that
man than of himself. Moreover the Baron of
Lux his confident, who was then there, had
told him that *Laffin* had without doubt kept
his Counsel, and not revealed any thing which
might hurt him. *De Lux* believed so, because
the King after having entertained *Laffin*, had
told him with a merry countenance, *I am
glad I have seen this man; he hath eased me of
many distrusts and suspicions of spirit.*

In the mean time the friends of *Byron* writ
to him, that he should not be such a fool as
to bring his head to the Court; that it would
be more secure for him to justify himself by

Part III. Attorney then in person. But notwithstanding this advice, and against biting of his own conscience, after having some time deliberated; In the end he took post and came to *Fountain-blanc*, now when the King no longer expected him, but prepared to go seek him.

Byron comes.

The Histories of that time, and many other relations, recount exactly all the circumstances of the imprisonment, process, and death of that Marshal. I shall content my self to relate only the chief.

The insolence and blindness of this unhappy man cannot be sufficiently admired at, nor on the contrary the goodness and clemency of the King be enough praised, who endeavoured to overcome his obstinacy. "Confession of a fault is the first mark of repentance. The King taking him in private, instantly conjured him to declare all those intelligences and Treaties he had made with the Duke of *Savoy*; engaging his faith that he would bury all in an eternal oblivion: That he knew well enough all the particulars, but desired to understand them from his mouth; swearing to him, that though his fault should be greater then the worst of crimes, his confession should be followed by an absolute pardon. *Byron* in stead of acknowledging it, or at least excusing himself with modesty, as speaking to his King who was offended; insolently answered him, that he was innocent, and that he was not come to justify himself, but to understand the names of his back-biters, and demand

The King conjures him the first time to confess the truth.

He insolently vindicates himself.

demand justice, which otherwise he would do himself. Though this too haughty answer aggravated much his offence, the King ceased not sweetly to tell him, that he should think farther of it, and that he hoped he would take better counsel.

The same day after supper, the Count of Soissons exhorted him likewise, on the part of the King, to confess the truth; concluding his Remonstrance with that sentence of the Wiseman; *Sir, know that the anger of the King is as the Messenger of Death.* But he answered him with more fierceness then he had done the King.

On the morrow morning the King walking in his Gardens, conjured him the second time to confess the Conspiracy: but he could draw nothing from him, but protestations of innocency, and threatnings of his accusers.

Upon this the King felt himself agitated even at the bottom of his soul with divers thoughts, not knowing what he ought to do. The affection he had born him and his great services, withheld his just anger: on the other side, the blackness of his crime, his pride and obstinacy gave reins to his justice, and obliged him to punish the criminal. Besides that the danger with which both his Estate and Person were threatned, seemed impossible to be prevented, but by cutting off the head of a conspiracy, whose bottom was scarce visible.

In this trouble of spirit he retired into his Closet, and falling on his knees, prayed to God

The King prays the Count of Soissons to exhort him to confess his crime. But he is more obstinate.

The King speaks to him the second time, but in vain.

He is troubled what to resolve on.

Part III. God with all his heart to inspire him with a good resolution. He was accustomed to do thus in all his great affairs; "esteeming God as his surest Counsellour, and most faithful assistance. At his coming from prayers, as he said afterwards, he found himself delivered from the trouble wherein he was, and resolved to cast *Byron* into the hands of Justice, if his Council found that the proofs they had by writing were so strong, that there need no doubt be made of his Condemnation. He chose for this purpose four persons of those which composed it; to wit, *Bellevue*, *Villeroi*, *Rosny* and *Sillery*, and shewed them the proofs. They all told him with one voice, that they were more then sufficient.

He resolves
to leave
him to Ju-
stice.

Yet tries
the third
time to
draw truth
from him.

Yet after this he would make a third trial on this proud heart. He employed this last time Remonstrances, Prayers, Conjurations, and assurances of pardon, to oblige him to acknowledge his crime: but he answered still in the same manner; adding, that if he knew his accusers, he would break their heads.

He finds it
in vain, &
leaves him.

In fine, the King wearied with his Rhodomontadoes and obstinacy, left him, giving him these for his last words; *Well then, we must learn the truth in another place. Farewel Baron of Byron.* This word was as lightning, the Vant-Courier of the Thunder-bolt he was about to throw: the King by it degrading him of so many eminent dignities with which he had honoured him, shewed that he was about to abase him much more then ever he had raised him.

At

At his coming forth of the Queens Chamber, where he played at *Primero*, *Vitry* Captain of the Kings Life-Guard demanded his Sword, and Arrested him as his prisoner. *Praslin* likewise Captain of the Guards secured the Count of *Auvergne*; and on the morrow putting them in Boats on the *Seine*, conducted them with a good Convoy by water to the *Bastille*.

Part III.

By on and the Count of *Auvergne* Arrested prisoners.

Byron had a very great number of friends: but on this occasion wherein he was accused to have conspired against the person of the King, they were all mute and struck dumb. His kindred which were found at the Court, went to cast themselves on their knees before the King, not to demand Justice of him, but to implore his mercy. The *Lord de la Force*, afterward Marshal of *France*, spoke for them all. If *Byron* had at first spoke with so much humility and submission as they did, he had without doubt obtained his grace: but it was now too late; there was now no more room for Clemency, it had given place to Justice.

His kindred intercede for him.

The King commanded his Parliament to make his Process, and sent particular Commission to the chief President, and to the President *Potier Blan-Mesnil*, and two Counsellours, to draw up the instructions at the request of the Attorney-General.

The Parliament make his Process.

The proofs were very strong, and the defence of *Byron* very weak. He made it plainly appear in a business wherein he acted for his Life,

He defends himself weakly.

Part III. Life, that he had less brains then heart. For he presently acknowledged his writing; which he might have denied, and have gained some time to have made it be proved. This piece had been written in the time of the War of Savoy. He pretended that the King being at Lyons, had pardoned him all his rebellious Motions. But the King sent Letters under his Great Seal to the Parliament, by which he revoked that grace. And no great consideration was had upon it: for first, that grace he had granted him, was but verbal; and in the second place, the Parliament held it for a *Maxime*, That there are Crimes the King cannot pardon; as those of *Lese Majestatis*, Divine and Humane; and those which are of a horrible scandal, and great prejudice to the Publick. When they came to the re-examination and confronting of Witnesses, and presented *Laffin* to *Byron*, in stead of reproaching him, as a man whom an hundred reproaches might have rendred incapable of bearing witness, he acknowledged him for an honest Man, and a brave Gentleman: but afterwards when he heard his Deposition read, he began to charge him with injuries, to call him Traytor, Magician, and Devilish Fellow. But the time was past, nor were his reproaches any more valuable.

Letters of
the King
revoking
the pardon
granted
him at
Lyons.

He re-
proacheth
not *Laffin*.

Renaze ap-
pears be-
fore him,
at which he
is much a-
stonished.

He believed that *Renaze* was still a Prisoner in *Piedmont*: but he had escaped some time before, and was now presented to him. He believed that he saw a Fantasm or Ghost; he remained astonished and dumb; and without making

making any exception against him, heard his Part III. Deposition, which agreed with that of *Laffin*. They deposed, besides what we have already said, That he had conspired with the Governor of Fort St. Katherine to kill the King when he went to receive that place: That *Byron* was to march a little before him clad in a certain fashion, to the end he might be known. They said likewise, that he had another designe to take away the King when he should be hunting, or other where ill accompanied, and carry him into *Spain*.

The Charge of the Impeachment thus made in the *Bastille* by four Commissioners, he was conducted to the Palace down the River, guarded on both sides by the Regiment of Guards. He was heard in Parliament seated on the Foot-stool, all the Chambers of the Assemblies, but the Peers, being present, though they had been likewise called; and afterwards reconducted to the *Bastille*. He is conducted to the Parliament, and heard.

On the morrow, being the last of *July*, it was put to the Vote: of one hundred and fifty Judges, there was not one who concluded not of his death. He was declared *Attainted* and convicted of the crime of *Læſæ Majestatis*, for the Conspiracies made by him against the person of the King, Designs upon his Estate, Treasons and Treaties with his Enemies, being Marshal of the Armies of the said King. And for reparation of his Crimes, deprived of all his Estates, Honours and Dignities, and condemned to have his head cut off in the place of the Greve; his Goods,

Sentence of death voted against him.

Part III. *Goods, moveable and immoveable, taken and confiscated to the King; his Lands of Byron forever deprived of the title of Peerage; and those and all his other Lands re-united to the Demains of the Crown.*

The King
removes
the execu-
tion to the
Bastille.

Sentence
pronoun-
ced.

The King under pretext of doing a favour to his Kindred, but fearing indeed some tumult, because he was much loved of the Soldier, and had a great number of friends in Court, removed the place of his execution, and would have it done in the *Bastille*. The Chancellour going with the chief President, caused him to be led to the Chappel, where about ten of the Clock in the morning he pronounced his Sentence, which he heard with one Knee on the ground, with a great deal of patience: onely when they came to these words, *Conspiracies against the person of the King*, he rise up, and cryed out, *There is no such thing; that is false; blot out that.* In fine, the Chancellour, according to form, redemanded of him the Coller of his Order, his Ducal Crown, and his Marshals Staff. He had not the two last with him, but onely the first, which he drew out of his pocket, and gave.

It will be needless to recount all his Discourses, his Reproaches, his Passions, his Laments, his Exclamations, and a hundred other Extravagancies, (for so we may call them) with which he was transported.

His head
cut off.

About five a Clock that Evening, he was led to the Scaffold, where he had his head cut off.

off. It was observed that it bounded three times, forced by the impetuosity of his spirits, which were transported; and that there issued more blood out of it, then out of the trunk of his body. He was carried to the Church of *St. Paul*, where he was buried without any Ceremony, but with a great concourse of people, who had all tears in their eyes, and lamented that brave Courage which a detestable Ambition, and a too boundless Pride, had brought to so unhappy an end.

It is convenient to understand, that this Marshal was very ignorant, but extremely curious in the Predictions of Astrologers, Diviners, Necromancers, and other Deceivers. It was held likewise, that *Laffin* had gained his favour by making him believe that he talked with the Devil, and that he had assured him that he should be a Sovereign. It was said likewise, that being young, he went one day disguised to see a Teller of Good-fortune, who foretold that he should be a very great Lord, but that he should have his head cut off: at which being troubled, he outrageously beat him. That another Diviner told him he should be King, if a blow of a sword behinde hindred it not. And another, that he should die by the hand of a *Burgonian*; and it was found, that the Executioner who cut off his head, was a Native of *Bourgogne*.

He was very ignorant, but a great lover of predictions.

Divers others were reported: but to speak the truth, the most of these Predictions are ordi-

Part III. ordinarily known after the Events; and though they do effectually precede the event, it must be believed by chance, and not by knowledge; the Prognosticators telling so many stories, that it is impossible but some should happen. "It

A reflection very necessary for great men. "is therefore a great wisdom to disabuse our spirits of these sorts of curiosities: for besides that they have no foundation in Reason, we offend God by believing them, and give money to let our selves be fool'd and led by the Noses: nor do ever wise men give any faith to them, though sometimes they serve to deceive the simple.

*Laffin and Renaze pardoned. * That is, the Rack.*

Laffin and Renaze had their full pardon. One named *Hebert*, Secretary to Marshal *Byron*, suffered the ordinary and * extraordinary Question, without confessing any thing; yet he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment: but a little after, the King gave him his liberty; yet the resentment of what he had suffered, having more power over him then the favour, he fled into *Spain*, where he finished his days.

So is the Baron of *Lux*, and confirmed in his Charges.

The Baron of *Lux*, *Byrons* chief Confident, came to Court on the Kings word. He told him all that he knew, and possibly more: by which means he obtained his pardon in what form he pleased, and was confirmed in his Charges, and in the Government of the Castle of *Dijon*, and the City of *Beaune*. The King kept the Government of *Bourgongne* for Monsieur le Dauphine, and gave the Lieutenantcy to *Bellegarde*, who afterwards was Governour in chief.

Mont-

Montbarot Lord Breton was put into the Bastille upon some suspicions had of him; but being found innocent, the Gates were soon opened to him.

Part III.
Montbarot
imprison-
ed, and
soon relea-
sed.

The Baron of Fontanelles, a Gentleman of a very good house, had not the same fortune: for for having a hand in the conspiracy, and besides that, treating of his own accord with the Spaniards to deliver to them a little Island on the Coast of Bretany, he was broke on the Wheel in the Greve, by sentence of the great Council. The King in consideration of his house, which was very illustrious, granted to his Kindred that in the sentence he should not be called by his proper Name: but History could not be silent in it.

Fontanelles
broke on
the wheel,

The Duke of Bouillon finding himself likewise somewhat involved in Byrons business, judged it convenient to retire into his Viscounty of Turenne; where the King, being advised that he yet plotted something, sent for him to come and justify himself. In stead of coming, he writ to him a very eloquent Letter, by which he represented to him, That having understood that his Accusers were both extremely wicked, and very cunning, he entreated him to dispense with his coming to Court; and think fit, that to satisfy his Majesty, all France, and his own Honour, his Process should be made at the Chamber of Castres, by vertue of the priviledge he had granted to those of the pretended Religion; and that he would send thither his Accusers and Accusations.

Duke of
Bouillon
had a hand
in the con-
spiracy.
The King
sends for
him to
Court; but
he presents
himself to
the Cham-
ber of Cas-
tres.

ons. In pursuance of which, he came to *Cassres*, presented himself to the Chamber, and took an Act of his appearance. The King was not at all pleased with this Answer; blamed the Judges of *Cassres* for having given him that Act, and sent to tell him that there was yet no question of leaving him over to Justice, and that therefore he should the rather come.

After, he retires to Geneva, & thence to Heidelberg to the Prince Palatine his Kinsman.

Being advertized by those friends he had at Court of the Kings resolution, who had sent to him the President *Commartin* to let him understand his will, he departed from *Cassres*, went to *Orange*, passed by *Geneva*, and so retired to *Heidelberg* to the Prince *Palatine*; saying like a sage Politician, as he was, That he ought neither to Capitulate with his King, nor yet go near him whilst his anger lasted. This business lay a breeding some years; we shall see in its place how it terminated.

The favour of *Rosny* a pretext to the discontents of the great ones.

It must here be acknowledged, that the favour of *Rosny* served in this time for a pretext to almost all the discontents and all the conspiracies of the great ones. The King had truly raised him by four or five great Charges, because he believed he could not sufficiently recompence those services he had rendered him. And in that this Prince merits onely praise: for a good Master cannot do too much for a good and faithful servant. But though the trouble some and discontented Spirits might complain that the King gave him too many Charges and Employments; yet they could not lament his giving him too much power, or that he

Yet the King gave him not too much power;

He gave it to him alone : for we may with truth say, that *Rosby* had not the liberty to do the least grace of his own accord. He was forced in all things to address himself directly to the King, who would himself distribute his favours and recompences to those he knew worthy, that they might acknowledge the whole Obligation and dependence from him. This great Prince knew well, " That he who gives all, may do all ; and that he who gives nothing, is nothing ; but what it shall please him who gives all. He had too much Honour, and too much Glory, to suffer that another should act in the most noble Function of his Royal Authority. Whatever favour or whatever familiarity any had with him, if they were wanting to conserve it with a profound respect, or should speak or act with him otherwise than with their Master and with their King, they would doubtless as soon fall into disgrace : and this was, as we have observed, one of the causes of *Byron's* loss. Judge then, if he who would not that any should in any thing in the world act the Companion with him, would have endured that they should act the Sovereign. Judge, if he would have been contented that his Ministers should simply have taken his consent in a business, or that they should speak to him of things in manner of discharge, after having themselves resolved them. No, without doubt : He would that all Resolutions should come from his own Head, and from his own Motion : that the

but keeps it to himself.

An important truth.

Part III choice should be his : that he alone should have the power to raise and throw down ; and that none but himself should be Arbitrator in the Fortunes of his Subjects. Not but that he considered, as it was just, the Recommendations of the great ones of his Estate, and of his Ministers, in the conferring of his Favours, Employments and Charges ; but it was still in such a manner, that he made them to whom he gave them know, that they ought onely to hold them from him : which the following Example well demonstrates.

A memorable example, that a King ought not to yeild too much to his Ministers.

The Bishoprick of *Poitiers* becoming vacant, *Rosny* very instantly besought him to consider in this occasion one named *Frenouillet*, reputed a knowing man, and a great Preacher. The King notwithstanding this Recommendation, gives it to the Abbot of *Roche pozay* ; who, besides his own particular good Qualities, was Son to a Father who had served him well with his Sword in his Wars, and with his knowledge and spirit in Embassies. Some time after, the Bishoprick of *Montpellier* became vacant : the King out of his own proper motion sent to seek *Frenouillet*, and told him, that he would give it him ; but on this condition, that he should acknowledge no Obligation but to himself. By which it may be seen, how he in some sort considered the Recommendation of *Rosny* : but it may likewise be perceived, that the power of that Favourite, who caused so much jealousy in the world, was bounded. I call him Favourite,

by

by reason that he had the most splendid Employments; though to speak truth he had no pre-eminence over others of the Council: for *Villeroy* and *Farin* were more considered then he in Negotiations and Forraign Affairs; *Belisieur* and *Sillery* for Justice and Policy within the Kingdome: and it is not to be imagined that those people did in any manner depend on him. There was onely one head in the Estate, which was the King, who alone made all his Members, and from whom onely they received spirits and vigour.

About the end of this year, the Duke of *Savoy* thinking to revenge himself, and repair the loss of his County of *Bresse* on the City of *Geneva*, attempted to take it by storm. The Enterprize was formed by the Counsels of the Lord of *Albigny*; and the Duke having passed the Mountains, believed it infallible. *D'Albigny* conducted two thousand men for this purpose within half a League of the City; yet was not so rash as to engage himself, but left the conduct to others. More then two hundred men mounted the Ladders, gained the Ramparts, and ran through all the City without being perceived. In the meantime, the Burgeses were awakened by the cries of some that fled from a Guard, which had discovered the Enterprizers, and as soon beheld themselves charged by them. The Gunner, who was to have broken a Gate within, to cause those without to enter, was unhappily slain: after which, they were weakned on all sides.

Enterprizes of the Duke of *Savoy* on *Geneva*.

Part III. The greatest part endeavoured to re-gain their Ladders: but the Cannons on the Flankers having broken them in pieces, they were almost all slain, or broke their necks by leaping into the ditch. There was thirteen taken alive, almost all Gentlemen: amongst the others, *Assignac*, who had served as second to *Don Phillipin* bastard of *Savoy*. They yielded upon assurance given them, that they should be treated as prisoners of War: But the furious cries of the common people, who represented the danger wherein their City was of Massacres, Violation, universal Destruction, or perpetual Slavery, forced the Council of this little Republick to condemn them to the infamous death of the Gibbet, like to Thieves. Their heads, with fifty four others of those that were killed, were stuck on Poles, and their bodies cast into the *Rhone*.

Thirteen
of the Enterprizers
hanged.

The Duke
of *Savoy*
excuses
himself to
the *Suisses*.

The Duke of *Savoy*, confused with such ill success, and much more with the reproaches of all *Christendome*, for having endeavoured such an Enterprize in time of absolute peace, repassed the Mountains in haste, leaving his Troops near to *Geneva*, and endeavoured to excuse himself to the *Suisses*, under whose protection that City was, as well as under that of *France*, for having attempted to surprize it; saying, That he had not done it to trouble the repose of the Confederacy, but to hinder *Lesdiguieres* from seizing it for the King.

From
whom the
City of *Geneva*
was
held.

The Dukes of *Savoy* have for a long time pretended that this City appertained to their

So-

Sovereignty; and that the Bishops who bore the title of Earls, and were for some time Lords of it, held it from them: which is however a thing that the Bishops never acknowledged; always maintaining, that they depended immediately on the Empire. The City on their part sustained that it was a free City, and not subject in temporal things, neither to their Bishops, whom they quite drave out in the year 1533. when they unhappily renounced the *Roman Catholick Religion*; nor to the Duke of *Savoy*, but onely to the Empire; for which reason they always bore the Eagle planted on their Gates. Both one and the other have very specious Titles to shew their rights; but for the present the City of *Geneva* enjoyed full liberty, and had for above sixty years, being become an Allie of the Cantons of *Switzerland*. Now the *Suisses* were comprehended in the Treaty of *Vervin* as Allies of *France*, and by consequence so was the City of *Geneva*; and the King had sufficiently declared it to the Duke of *Savoy*: notwithstanding which, he ceased not to attempt this Enterprize; hoping that if it succeeded, the King of *Spain* and the Pope would sustain him in it, and that the King for so small a thing would not break the peace.

It was an Allie of the *Suisses*, and under protection of *France*.

The *Genevans* make War on *Savoy*.

The *Genevans* furiously incensed against him, began to make War couragiously; entered his Country, and took some little Towns. They hoped that the King and the *Suisses* would second these motions of their resentment; and that all the Princes of *Germany*

would

Part III. would likewise come to their assistance. But the King desired to keep the peace; and was too wise to kindle a War in which he could not make Religion and Policy agree; or unite the Honour and Interests of *France*, obliged to protect its Allies, with the good favour of the Pope moved by his duty to the ruine of the *Hugonots*. He therefore sent *de Vic* to assure them of his protection: but with order to let them know, that Peace was necessary for them, and War ruinous; and that they ought to embrace the one, and shun the other. And they having little power for so much anger, and not being able to do any thing without his assistance, were constrained to consent, and enter into a Treaty with the *Savoyard*: by which it was said, that they were comprized in the Treaty of *Vervin*, and that the Duke could not build any Fortress within four Leagues of their City.

But the King obliges them to peace.

The inhabitants of *Mets* rise against *Sobole* their Governour.

It happened almost in the same time, that the City of *Mets* rose against the Governour of that Citadel. He was called *Sobole*; who having been made Lieutenant by the Duke of *Espenon*, to whom *Henry* the third had given the Government in chief, had deserted this Duke, I know not for what consideration, and had taken provision of the King. He had a Brother who seconded him in the Charge of this Government.

During the last War against *Spain*, these two Brothers had accused the principal inhabitants of *Mets* for having conspired to deliver the

the City to the *Spaniards*. There were many Part III.
 imprisoned, some put to the rack; but none
 found culpable: so that all the *Burgesses* be-
 lieving with reason that this was a Calumny,
 conceived a hatred against these *Soboles*, and
 drew up several Petitions of complaint against
 them, accusing them of a great number of
 Exactions and Cruelties. The Duke d' Es-
 pernon, who without doubt sustained these
 Burgesses at the Court, was sent by the King
 to accommodate this difference. The *Soboles*
 who had offended him, no longer trusted him;
 they would not permit him to enter into the
 strongest Citadel, nor let the Garison go out
 to meet him: so that being justly incensed,
 he envenomed the plague instead of healing
 it, and animated the inhabitants in such a
 manner, that they Barricadoed themselves a-
 gainst them. The King who knew that the least
 sparkles were capable to kindle a great fire,
 was not content to send *La Varenne*, but went
 himself; being moreover willing to visit that
 Frontier. *Sobole* gave the place into his
 hands; and he gave it to *Arquien*, Lieute-
 nant-Colonel of the Regiment of Guards,
 with the Quality of Lieutenant of the King,
 to command in the absence of the Duke d' Es-
 pernon Governour, who had no great power
 so long as the King lived.

The King passed the Feast of Easter at *Mets*.
 Whilst he was there, he hearkned to the request
 which the *Jesuites* made for their re-establi-
 shment. He referred the doing them Justice
 till

The Duke
 d' Esperson
 kindles the
 fire more.

The King
 goes in
 person.

The Jesu-
 ites present
 their re-
 quest to the
 King, for
 their re-
 establish-
 ment.

Part III. till he should come to *Paris*; and gave leave to Father *Ignatius Armand*, and Father *Coton*, to come to sollicite their cause. They were not wanting to do it; and Father *Coton*, being of a sharp and witty discourse, and a very famous Preacher, gained so soon the favour of all the Court, and pleased the King so well, that he obtained from his Majesty the recalling of the Society into the Kingdom, contrary to the opinion and advice of some of his Council. He then re-established them by an Act, which he caused to be confirmed in Parliament; and caused to be thrown down that *Pyramide*, which had been erected before the Palace, in the place of the house of *John Castel*, where there were many writings in Verse and Prose very bloody against these Fathers. Thus was their banishment gloriously repaired; and after all, the King kept with him Father *Coton* as his Chaplain in Ordinary, and Confessor and Director of his Conscience. This was not accomplished till the year 1604.

He re-establisheth them gloriously.

1602,

8c

1603.

He visits his sister at *Nancy*. Renews his alliance with the *Suisses* and *Grisons*.

In these two years of 1602, and 1603, we have yet three or four important things to observe. The first, that the King at his departure from *Mets* went to *Nancy* to visit his Sister, the Dutchesse of *Bar*; who died the year following without Children. The second, that he renewed the Alliance with the *Suisses*, and some months after with the *Grisons*; notwithstanding those Obstacles by which the Count of *Fuentes* endeavoured to oppose

oppose it. The third was, that in returning to *Paris*, he received news of the Death of *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, one of the most illustrious and most Heroick Princesses that ever Reigned; and who Governed her Estate with more Prudence and Power, then any of her Predecessors had ever done.

Part III.
Hears of the death of Queen Elizabeth of England.

She was Daughter to King *Henry* the eighth, and to that *Anne* of *Bullen*, for whose love he had left *Katherine* of *Arragon*, Aunt to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, his first wife. There was nothing wanting to the happiness of her Kingdom save the *Catholick* Religion, which she banished out of *England*. And we might give her the name of good as well as great, if she had not dealt so inhumanely as she did with her Cousin-German *Mary* *Stuart* Queen of *Scotland*; whom she kept eighteen years prisoner, and after beheaded; induced to it by some conspiracies which the Servants and Friends of that poor Princess had made against her person.

She be-headed Mary Queen of Scots.

The Son of that *Mary* named *James* the sixth King of *Scotland*, being the nearest of the blood-Royal of *England*, as Grandchild to *Margaret* of *England*, Daughter to King *Henry* the seventh, and Sister to *Henry* the eighth, married to *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*, succeeded *Elizabeth*, who had put his Mother to death. He caused himself to be called King of *Great Britain*, to unite under the same title the two Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*; which indeed are but one Island, formerly

James 6. King of *Scotland* and Son of *Mary*, succeeded to the Kingdom of *England*. He was *James* the first of that name among the Kings of *England*.

Part. III. formerly called by the Romans *Magna Britannia*.

Ambassadors go from *France* and *Spain* to desire his friendship.

Piety yields to Interest.

The King labours to conserve peace.

The Alliance of so powerful a King might make the balance incline to which side soever it were turned, either of *France* or *Spain*: For which reason both the one and the other immediately sent Magnificent Ambassadors to salute him, each endeavouring to draw him to his side. It was *Rosny* who went on the part of *Henry* the Great: he obtained all the favourable Audience he desired, and the confirmation of the ancient Treaties between *France* and *England*. The Ambassador of *Spain* found not such facility in his Negotiation; the *English* appeared resolute. The *Spaniards* were forced to yeild, that the place of the Treaty should be appointed in *England*, and to grant the *English* free Taffick in all their Territories, even in the *Indies*, and give them liberty of Conscience in *Spain*; so that they should not be subject to the Inquisition, nor obliged to salute the holy Sacrament in the streets, but onely turn from it.

France was in a profound peace, as well without by the renewing of the Alliances with the *Suisses* and with *England* as within, by the discovery of the Conspiracies which were quite dissipated; the King enjoyed a repose worthy his labours, and his past travail made his pleasure more sweet. However, he was not idle, but was seen daily employed: for he endeavoured with as much diligence to conserve

serve peace, that divine daughter of heaven, Part III
as he had used courage and valour in making
War.

He was often heard say, "That though
"he could make the house of *France* as pow-
"erful in *Europe*, as that of the *Ottomans* was
"in *Asia*, and conquer in a moment all the
"Estates of his neighbours; yet he would
"not do so great a dishonour to his word,
"by which he was obliged to the keeping of
"the Peace.

His most ordinary divertisements during
this time, were Hunting and Building. He
at the same time maintained workmen at the
Church of the holy Cross at *Orleans*, at
St. Germain in Laye, at the *Louvre*, and at
the *Place Royal*.

The Nobility of *France* during this peace,
could not live out of action: some passed their
time in Hunting, others with Ladies; some in
Studies of Learning and the Mathematicks,
others in travelling into *Forraign Countries*;
and others continued the Exercise of War
under Prince *Maurice* in *Holland*. But the
greatest part, whose hands as it were itched,
and who sought to signalize their valour with-
out departing from their Countries, became
punctilious, and for the least word, or for a
wry look, put their hands to their swords.
Thus that madness of Duels entred into the
hearts of the Gentlemen; and these Com-
bats were so frequent, that the Nobility shed
as much blood in the Meadows with their

Excellent
speeches of
a good King

His diver-
tisements.

Employs of
the Nobility.

Duels too
frequent.

Part III own hands, as their enemies had made them lose in Battails.

The King
made an
Edict
gainst this
madness.

The King therefore made a second and a most severe Edict, which prohibited Duels, confiscating the bodies and goods of those who went thus into the field. For the present, this prohibition made the ardor of the most violent a little relent: but because he often pardoned this crime, not being able to refuse to those who had faithfully served him in his need; it happened that in a little time, this mischief regained its course, almost as strong as before.

He makes
Acts for
working
the Gold,
Silver, and
Copper
mines.

His receiving from all persons all advice that might accommodate and enrich his Kingdom, made him understand that there were in divers places of France very good Mines both of Gold and Silver, Copper and Lead; and that if they were wrought, there would be no need to buy of Strangers. That likewise though there should accrue no great profit in digging them, yet by them many idle persons might be employed; and likewise those criminals who deserved not death, might be condemned for so many years to work in them. He made therefore an Act which renewed the ancient orders concerning the Officers, Directors, and Workers of Mines. And they began to work in the Pyrenees, where it is most certain that formerly there hath been Gold, and that there still is. In such manner, that had they continued this labour, they might in all appearance have gained

ned notable advantages; but either through the negligence of the Overseers, or through the little Intelligence, or rather impatience of the French, who cast by any thing that presently seconded not their desires, this work was discontinued.

An enterprize to joyn the Seine and Loire.

Another very great conveniency for Paris was enterprized, which was the joyning of the River Loire to the Seine, by the Chancel of Briare. Rosny laboured in this with much expence; employing in it near three hundred thousand crowns: but the work was interrupted, I know not wherefore. It was renewed again in the Reign of Lewis the thirteenth, and brought to perfection.

Another design to joyn the two Seas.

There was proposed likewise another, which was to make a conjunction of the two Seas, the Ocean and the Mediterranean, by uniting together the Garonne which runs into the Ocean, and the Aude which falls into the Mediterranean Sea below Narbonne, by Channels which were to be drawn along little rivers, which run between these great ones. The Country of Languedoc offered to contribute; but there were difficulties found which hindered this enterprize.

Navigation was established by the good order which the King had taken to keep his Coasts in security, and to punish Pirates severely when they catcht them. Our ships were not content to Traffick to the ordinary places, but enterprized likewise to go to the new world; which they had almost forgot since

Part III. since the time of Admiral Coligny. A Gentleman of *Xaintonge* named *du Gas*, began with the Kings Commission the voyage of *Canada*, where afterwards was established the Commerce of Castors or Beavers, which are the skins of a certain amphibious creature, much like the Otters of this Country.

Navigati-
on to *Ca-
nada*.

Establi-
shment of
Religious
Orders at
Paris.

Among all these establishments, we must not forget a great quantity of new Religious Companies, which were made in *Paris*. There was first seen the Recollects, which were a branch of the Order of *St. Francis* of a new Reformation: *Capuchins* and *Feuillantines*; *Carmelites*, who were brought from *Spain*; *Barefooted Carmes*, who came likewise from that Country: of the Brothers of Charity, vulgarly called the ignorant brothers, who came out of *Italy*; and all had soon built them Convents out of the Almes and Charity of Devout persons.

In the midst of this fair Calme, at which the King rejoyced, and during all these fair occupations which were worthy of him, he was not left without troubles and vexations, which perplexed his Spirit. He had none more piercing, nor more continual, then those which came on the part of his Wife and his Mistresses.

The King
gives *Ver-
neuil* to
*Madamoi-
selle d'En-
tragues*.

We have already said how *Mademoiselle d'Entragues* had engaged him. He had given her the land of *Verneuil* near *Senlis*, and for the love of her had made it a Marquisate. After that he was married, he ceased

not

not to have the same passion for her, and to carry her with him in his Progresses, and lodge her at *Fontaine-bleau*.

Part III.

These scandalous disorders extremely offended the Queen; and the Pride of the Marchioness more furiously incensed her: for she spoke alwaies of her in terms either injurious or disdainful; sometimes not forbearing to say, that if she had Justice she should hold the place of that fat * Banker.

She despises and offends the Queen.

* Alluding I suppose to the Dukes of Florence, who are all Merchants.

The Queen likewise on her side was with reason transported against her, and made her complaints to all the world. But this was not the way to gain the spirit of the King: she had done better, had she wisely dissembled her displeasure, and by her kindnesses made herself master of that heart, which of right belonged to her. The King loved to be flattered; he loved sweet and compliant discourse, and was to be gained by tenderness and affection. The band of love is love it self: this was that she ought to employ with him, and not grumblings, disclains, and ill countenances, which serve onely more and more to disgust a husband, and make him find more pleasure in the allurements of a Mistress who takes care to be alwaies agreeable and alwaies complacent. But instead of holding this way, she was alwaies in contention with the King; she exasperated him continually by her complaints, and by her reproaches: and when he thought to find with her some sweetness to ease the great labours of his spirit, he

The Queen on her part troublesome to the King.

Part III. encountred nothing but Gall and Bitterness.

She had belonging to her Chamber a Florentine woman Daughter of her Nurse, named *Leonora Galigay*, a creature extreme ugly, but very spiritual, and who knew so perfectly how to insinuate into her heart, that she had in such manner seized on it, that she absolutely commanded her. It hath been said, that this woman fearing that the Queen her Mistress would love her less, if she perfectly loved the King her husband, kept her from it as much as she could, that she might possess her with more ease. Afterwards, to the end she might have a second in her designs, she Married and Espoused her self to a Florentine a domestick of the Queens, named *Concibini*, of a little better Extraction then her self, being grand-child to *Baptista Concibini*, who had been Secretary to *Cosmo* Duke of Florence.

Leonora & Concibini her husband, foster the Queen in ill humors.

The Common opinion was that these two persons conjoyntly laboured so long as the King lived, to conserve a spleen in the spirit of the Queen, and to make her always troublesome and humourfome towards him; in such manner, that for seven or eight years together, if he had one day of peace and quiet with her, he had ten of discontent and vexation. In this truly the Kings fault was the greatest, because he gave the occasion of these troubles; and the husband being, as *St. Paul* saith, the head of the wife, ought to give her example, and keep a more strict union with her.

We

We have observed this once for all. But Part III.
we cannot too often make this Reflexion, 1604.

"That sin is the cause of all disorder; and that
"for a little pleasure it causes a thousand
"troubles and a thousand mischiefs, even in
"this world it self. The King being now
but just fifty years of age, began this year to
have some small feelings of the Gour; which
possibly were the doleful effects of his ex-
cessive voluptuousness, as well as of his la-
bours.

The Kings
debaucheries cause
the Gour.

To return to the Marchioness; it happened
one day that the Queen being very much
offended at her discourse, threatned her that
she should know how to bridle her wicked
tongue. The Marchioness upon this seemed
sad and grieved; shunn'd the King, and
let him understand that she desired that he
would no more demand any thing of her, be-
cause she feared that the continuation of his
favours would be too prejudicial both to her
and her children. Her design was to inflame
more his passion, by shewing her self more
difficult. But when she saw that her cunning
had not all the effect she hoped, and that the
Queens anger was encreased to such a point,
that indeed there was some danger for her and
hers; she advised her self of another thing.

The Queen
threatens
the Mar-
chioness.

Who prays
the King to
see her no
more.

Dr Entragues her Father demanded permis-
sion of the King to carry her out of the
Kingdom, to avoid the vengeance of the
Queen. The King granted her demand easier
then she thought he would; wherewith be-

And her
Father de-
mands
leave to
retire with
her out of
France.

Part III

.

They treat
with the
Ambassa-
dor of
Spain.

The King
resolves to
hinder
them.
To this
end he
sends for
Auvergne,
who is at
Clermont,
and refuses
to come.

ing excessively enraged, her Father and the Count d' *Auvergne* her Brother by the Mothers side, began to Treat secretly with the Ambassador of *Spain*, to have some retreat in the Territories of his King, casting themselves absolutely they and their children into his Arms.

The Ambassador believed that this business would be very advantageous to his Master, and that in time and place he might serve himself of that promise of marriage which the King had given to the Marchioness: he therefore easily granted them all that they demanded, and added all the fair promises with which weak and feeble spirits might be intoxicated.

The King had granted them permission to retire themselves out of *France*, but yet without the Children; out of a belief he had that they would go into *England* to the Duke of *Lenox* and the Earl of *Arbigny* of the house of the *Stuarts*, who were their near kinsmen; but when he understood that they consulted of a retreat into *Spain*, he resolved to hinder them, but to employ fair means to do it. He sends therefore for the Count d' *Auvergne*, who was then at *Clermont*, so much beloved in the Province, that he believed he might securely stay there. He refused to come before he had his Pardon sealed in good form, for all that he might have done. This was a kind of new crime, to capitulate with his King: however he sends it him, but with this Clause,

That

That he should make his immediate appeal

His distrust permitted him not to obey on this condition: he stayed still in the Province, where he kept himself on his Guard with all precautions imaginable. Nevertheless he was not so cunning, but the King could entrap him, and by an Artifice very gross. He being Colonel of the *French* Cavalry, was desired to go see a Muster made of a Company of the Duke of Vendosmes. He went well mounted, keeping himself at a good distance, that he might not be encompassed: Nevertheless, *d'Entraques* Lieutenant of that Company, & Next an approaching him to salute him, mounted on little Hobbies for fear of giving him suspicion, but with three Soldiers disguised like *Lacques*, cast him from his horse, and made him prisoner. They led him presently to the Bastille, where he was seized with a great fear, when he saw himself lodged in the same Chamber where the Marshal of *Byron* his great friend had been.

He is Arrested prisoner, and carried to the Bastille.

D'Entragues and the Marchioness likewise Arrested.

* The Common Goal of Paris.

Immediately after the King caused *d'Entragues* to be Arrested, who was carried to the * *Contiergerie*, and the Marchioness, who was left in her lodgings under the Guard of the *Cavalier de Guet*. After desiring to make known by publick proofs the ill intention of the *Spaniards*, who seduced his subjects, and excited and fomented conspiracies in his Estate, he remitted the prisoners into the hands of the Parliament; who having convicted them

Part III. them of having complotted with the *Spaniard*, declared by a sentence of the first of *February*, the Count of *Auvergne*, *d'Entragues*, and an *English* man named *Morgan*, who had been the Agent of this fair Negotiation, guilty of Treason; and as such, condemned them to have their heads cut off: The Marchioness to be conducted with a good Guard into the Abby of Nuns at *Beaumont* near to *Tours*, to be there shut up; and that in the mean time there should be more ample information made against her, at the request of the Attorney-General.

The Queen spared no solicitations for the giving of this sentence; believing that the Execution would satisfy her resentment: But the goodness of the King surpassed her passion. The love which he had for the Marchioness was not so far extinct, that he could resolve to Sacrifice what he had adored: he would not permit them to pronounce the Sentence; and two months and a half afterward, to wit, on the fifteenth of *April*, he by Letters under his Great Seal changed the penalty of Death on the Count of *Auvergne* and the Lord *d'Entragues*, into perpetual Imprisonment. Some time after he had likewise changed the prison of *Entragues* into a Confinement to his house of *Malles-herbes* in *Beauvais*. He likewise permitted the Marchioness to retire to *Vernueil*; and seven months being passed, without the Attorney-Generals procuring any proof against her, he caused her

Sentence
of Parlia-
ment a-
gainst
them,

The King
pardons
them, and
justifies the
Marchio-
ness.

her to be declared absolute'y innocent of the Part III.
crime whereof she was accused.

There rested onely the Count of *Auvergne*, But the
who being the most to be feared, was the Count of
worst treated: for the King not onely kept *Auvergne*
him prisoner at the *Bastille*, where he lay remained
for twelve whole years, but likewise deprived at the *Ba-*
him of his propriety in the County of *stille*, and is
despoiled
Auvergne. He had bore the title, and enjoyed of his
County.
it by vertue of the Donation of King
Henry the third.

Queen Margaret newly come to the Court, sustained that this Donation could not be valuable, because the contract of the Marriage of *Katherine de Medicis* her Mother, to whom that County appertained, allowing Substitution of her goods, and that Substitution, said she, extending to Daughters in default of Males, that County was to come to her after the death of *Henry the third*, nor could he give it to her prejudice.

The Parliament having hearkned to her reasons, and seen her proofs, annulled the Donation made by *Henry the third*, and adjudged her this County. In recompence of which obligation, and many others she had received from the King, she made a Donation of all her Estates after death to the *Daul-*
phin, reserving to her self onely the fruits of them during life.

The Count of *Auvergne* thus despoiled, remained in the *Bastille* untill the year one thousand six hundred and sixteen; when
X 4 Queen

Part III. Queen Mary de Medici having need of him during the troubles, delivered him from thence, and caused him to be justified. She caused likewise the Registers of Parliament and of the Notaries to be taken off the Files with all informations which might conserve the memory of his Crime. "By this see an example how time causes a mutability in all things, and how it changeth the greatest hatreds into the greatest affections; and on the contrary, transmutes the strongest affections into mortal hatreds.

The designs of the Duke of Bouillon discovered.

The King had done him many favours, and he had as well served the King:

By searching into the plot of the Marchioness her Father, to deliver her with her Children to the Spaniards, the designs of the Duke of Bouillon were likewise discovered, who at present was the onely person could give the King any trouble in his own Kingdom. It is most certain, that this Prince had conferred on him very considerable Favours, having given him the Staff of Marshal of France, and procured him the marriage of the Heiress of Sedan; and this Lord had likewise very well served him in his greatest necessities. But after he saw him converted to the Catholick Faith, he diminished much of his affection; and moved partly by Zeal for his false Religion, and partly by Ambition, he conceived vast designs of making himself Chief and Protector of the Hugonot party; and under that pretext, make himself Master of the Provinces beneath the Loire. It was believed that for this effect he had much assidued to exasperate the

the spirit of the Marthal of *Byron*; and that he had made a Treaty with the *Spaniard*, who was to furnish him with what money he desired; but not with forces, for fear of rendering himself odious to the Protestants.

It was but too visible, that after the conversion of the King, he had instantly laboured to beget distrusts and discontents in the spirits of the *Hugonots*, and to unite and Rally them together, that they might make a body: persuading himself, that that body must necessarily have a head, and that they could chuse no other but himself. And for these Reasons, so many Assemblies were made, and so many particular and general Synods of those of this Religion held, wherein nothing was heard but complaints and murmurs against the King, whom they continually wearied with new Requests and Demands.

Moreover, it was found that this Duke had Emisaries and Servants in *Guyenne*, and particularly in *Limosin* and *Quercy*, who held private Councils among the Nobility, distributed money, and took oath of those who promised him service, and had formed designs against ten or twelve Catholick Cities.

The King judging that he ought to dig up the root of this mischief before it extended farther, and not knowing indeed to what it might extend, resolved himself to go and remedy it. He departed from *Fontainebleau* in the month of December, having sent before *Jean-Jacques de Mesmes*, Lord of *Rossy*, to make

But after the Kings conversion, he excites the *Hugonots* against him, and would make himself chief of their party.

His Emisaries endeavour to form a party in *Guyenne*.

The King goes to prevent them.

Part III. make process against those that were culpable.

All the
Conspiracy
dissipated.

Immediately all this conspiracy flew into
smoke: The best advised came to the King to
cast themselves at his feet. The chief Agent of
the Duke of *Bouillon* being advertized that
there was order given to arrest him, brought
his head to the King, and told him both all
he knew before, and all that he did not know.
The others either fled out of the Kingdom, or
else hid themselves. Five or six unfortunate
persons being taken, were beheaded at *Limoges*,
and their heads planted on the tops of the
Gates, their bodies burnt, and the ashes
thrown into the Air. Three or four others
suffered the same punishment at *Perigord*.
There were ten or twelve condemned for Con-
tumacy, and their Effigies hanged up; amongst
others, *Chappelle-Byron*, and *Giversac* of the
house of *Cugnac*. But in all these procedures,
there were found no proofs by writing, nor
yet by any formal deposition against the Duke
of *Bouillon*; so cautiously and subrily had he
carried his business.

The King
returns to
Paris.

He in vain
endeavours
to make
the Duke
of *Bouillon*
humble
himself.

Before these executions, the King having
made his entrance into *Limoges*, returned to
Paris. He passionately wished, that after this
the Duke of *Bouillon* would acknowledge and
humble himself. For if he remained impeni-
tent, he was obliged to prosecute him to the
utmost; and if he did prosecute him, he of-
fended all that great body of Protestants,
which were his faithful Allies. He employed
there-

therefore underhand all means which he could devise, to induce him to have recourse to his Clemency, rather than to the intercession of strangers; which a Sovereign could not agree to in the case of his Officer and Subject. The Duke desired as much as he to draw himself out of this trouble: but he believed he could not finde security at Court, because *Rosny*, who was not his friend, and who had conceived some jealousy to see him more authorized than himself in the *Hugonot* party, had so great credit with the King. So that after many Treaties and Negotiations, the King resolved to go seek him at *Sedan* with an Army.

He resolves to besiege *Sedan*.

Rosny laboured with great Zeal to make preparation for this Expedition. The King confided much in him; and by honouring him, desired to testify to the *Hugonots*, that if he assaulted the Duke of *Bouillon*, it was not against their Religion, but the Rebellion he made War. For this purpose he erected the Land of *Sully* into a Duchy and Peerage; wherefore we shall henceforward call him Duke of *Sully*. His thoughts were, that the King should pursue the Duke of *Bouillon* to the utmost. *Villeroy* and the rest of the Council were of a contrary judgement: they would not have the Siege of *Sedan* hazarded, because the length of that Enterprize might possibly revive divers factions in the other corners of the Kingdom, give time to the *Spaniards* to assault the Frontiers of *Picardy*, to the discontented

Rosny makes all necessary preparations.

The King makes him Duke of *Sully*.

Inconveniences in the siege of *Sedan*.

contented

Part III. cented Savoyard to cast himself with the Forces of the Milanese on disarmed Provence, and to the Hugonots and Protestants of Germany to come to the assistance of their friends.

The King chuses rather to receive the Duke into favour.

On what conditions.

The King well foresaw all these inconveniences, and therefore having advanced to Donchery, during the absence of Sully, who was gone to provide Artillery, he treated with the Duke of Bouillon, and received him into grace; on condition that he humbled himself before his Majesty, and received him into the City of Sedan, and delivered up the Castle to him, to keep it with what Garrison he should think fit for four years.

These were the publick Conditions: but by the secret Articles the King promised the Duke to stay but five days in Sedan, nor to put but fifty men in the Castle, which should immediately depart upon humble supplication made by the Duke. All these things were faithfully executed, and without the least distrust either on the one side or the other. The Duke came to meet the King at Donchery, where he besought his pardon. The King received him as if he had never been faulty; and five or six days after, entered into Sedan; where he stayed only three days, and then returned to Paris. The Duke accompanied him as far as Monçon, passing then no further: but some days after, when he understood that the Parliament had confirmed his pardon, in which were likewise comprehended his friends that had been condemned for the default of Limoges,

The Duke begs pardon of the King, who enters Sedan, and thence goes to Paris.

ger, he came to Court, where he received more Honours and Kindnesses then ever. This was the custome of that great King: "He had a heart like a Lyon against the Proud, and against Rebels; but he was pleased to relieve with an unparalleld goodness those he had overcome, when by their submissions they rendered themselves worthy to receive his grace. And the Duke of *Bouillon*, who perfectly knew his Nature, (for they had lived and made War a long time together) was not wanting in this Coniuncture to comport himself with all that Prudence and Compliancy which an understanding man, as he was, could be capable of.

A great example of generosity in our Prince.

Notwithstanding this great generosity and goodness of the King, his Kingdome was no less turmoiled with incredible infidelities and conspiracies: such were the treason of *L'Osse*, the attempt on the City of *Marseilles* by *Merragues*, and another on *Narbonne* and *Lencate* by the *Luquisses*.

Notwithstanding which, there are many conspiracies.

L'Osse was Clerk to *Villeroy*, and his Godson: the employment he had under him, was to copy out the dispatches. This unfortunate man revealed all the secrets of the Kings Affairs to some of the Council of *Spain*, who had corrupted him with twelve hundred Crowns of Pension, which they promised him whilst he was in that Country with the Ambassadour *Rocheport*. His treachery being discovered, he fled; and as he was pursued by the Provosts of the Marshal, he drowned himself in the River

Treason of *L'Osse*

ver

Part III. ver of *Marne*, near the Ferry of *Fay*. It may easily be judged, that *Villeroy*, whose fidelity by this means remained exposed to the King's just suspicions, and to the calumnies of his enemies, was sensibly troubled. He had had without doubt some difficulty to clear himself of this business, if the King, who saw him in an extraordinary affliction, had not had the goodness to go visit him himself; and by that honour brought him the comfort of justifying him against all calumnies the Envious might sow against him.

1605. *Merargues* was a Provincial Gentleman, of a very good House; who having assurance that he should the following year be *Viguier* or Sheriff of *Marseilles*, had promised to deliver that City to the *Spaniard* during his Sheriffalty. He was so imprudent and so foolish as to discover his design to a Slave of the Gallies of *Marseilles*; who gave advice of it to the Court, to the end possibly that he might gain his liberty.

He is surprized talking with the Spanish Ambassadors Secretary. Upon this advice, *Merargues*, who was then at *Paris*, was watched so diligently, that they found him conferring with the Secretary of the Ambassadors of *Spain*; and speaking so loud, that almost all they said was heard. They searched him, and found in the fold of his Garter a Note containing the model of his Enterprize. He was arrested, and had his head cut off by sentence of the Parliament of *Paris*, on the nineteenth of *December*. His body was quartered, and his Quarters fixed be-

before the City-gates: his head carried to Part III.
Marsailles, to be planted on a Pole on a Tower
 of one of the principal Gates. The Secretary of the Ambassadour was arrested as well as
 he; and had been in great danger, if the King
 had been as furious as those counselled him,
 who desired a rupture with *Spain*.

The Amb-
 assadours
 Secretary
 arrested.

Several
 discourses
 concerning
 Ambassa-
 dours pri-
 viledges

This Rencontre gave subject to the Politi-
 tians to discourse diversly concerning the
 Rights of Ambassadours and their people: but
 Henry the Great decided himself the Question
 in this manner: "The Ambassadours (said
 "be) are sacred by the right of Nations:
 "now they first break them, when they con-
 "trive any treason against the State, or against
 "the Prince to whom their Master sent them;
 "and therefore by consequence this right
 "ought not secure them from being sought
 "out and punished. Moreover, it is not to be
 "presumed that they are either Ambassadours,
 "or that they represent the Sovereign who
 "sends them, when they commit those treache-
 "ries and infidelities which their Masters would
 "neither act nor avow. However, there is
 "more generosity in not using in this point
 "the utmost rigour, but reserving the ad-
 "vantage to chastise them without doing it.
 "And to this purpose, being well read in Hi-
 "story, he alleadged that example of the
 "Roman Senate, who having discovered that
 "the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges* were con-
 "cerned in the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, con-
 "tented themselves with commanding them
 "to

Prin III.
The King
forbids any
proceeds a-
gainst the
Secretary.

The Am-
bassadour
makes a
great noise,
and threa-
tens his
Kings re-
sentment.

“ to depart the City. This was his Opinion, and as he always followed the most generous Maxims, he forbade that any procees should be made against the Secretary, to whom the Judges were about to give the Question.

In the mean time, the Ambassadour thinking to cloak this perfidy by his Exclamations, came to complain to him that the rights of Nations were violated, and in them the Dignity of Ambassadours; and that the King his Master would have that resentment of it, which became a great Prince when offended. The King answering him with a wise coldness, represented unto him what his Secretary had acted with *Mirargues*. The Ambassadour not willing either to own the Man, or approve his Action, turned the business another way, and complained that the King had made the first breach of the peace of *Vervin*, by assisting the *Hollanders* both with men and money. The King replied, that for the men, they went not by his Orders; and that there were Frenchmen in the service of the Arch-Duke as well as in the *Hollanders*: but for his money, that it was in his power to do with it what he pleased, and to lend it or give it without offending any. The Ambassadour was very hot, and there past some high words both on one part and the other. In fine, the King returned him his Secretary, as he had resolved to do before he spake.

Treason of
the *Luquif-
ses*.

As for the *Luquiffes*, they were two Brothers *Genoways* by extraction, who had made agreement

agreement with the Governour of *Perpignan* Part III.
to deliver to him *Narbonne* and *Limoste*. It is
certain, that it was not in their power to exe-
cute this designe; and that there was more ill-
will in them, then danger that the thing should
succeed: Nevertheless they were taken, and
carried to *Tholouse*, where the Parliament
sent both the one and the other to the Gib-
bet.

It seemed that not onely the malice of men;
but even folly it self conspired now against
France: for the same day that *Merargues* was
executed, an unhappy Fool made an attempt
on the sacred person of the King; throwing
himself upon him with a Dagger in his hand,
as he passed on horse-back over the *Pont-Neuf*,
returning from hunting. The foot-men of
the King running in, made him loose his aim;
and had killed him on the place, if the King
had not forbid it, who caused him to be cat-
tied Prisoner to *For-l' Eveque*. He was call-
ed *John de l' Isle*, Native of *Vineux* near *Senlis*.
He was presently examined by the President
Jarin, who could get no reasonable answer
from him: for he was indeed quite out of his
senses. He believed himself King of all the
world, and said that *Henry* the fourth having
usurped and taken *France* from him, he would
chastise him for his temerity. Upon which,
the King judging that he was sufficiently pu-
nished by his folly, commanded that he should
only be kept in prison; where he died not
long after.

Y

Those

Phil III
Those who
desire war,
wher the
Kings spi-
rit upon
these Con-
spiracies.

Those who desired War, lost not the occasi-
on to incense the Kings spirit upon all these
Conspiracies and Enterprizes of the Spaniards.
They remonstrated to him, That he ought
not to expect other from his perpetual En-
mities: That having used all their endeavours
to hinder him from coming to his Crown,
they continued dayly to attempt something
against his Repose and Life: That their Am-
bushes were more to be feared in Peace, then
in War: That it were better to break with
them, because they would have less means to
hurt him, being no longer in the Entrails of his
Estire: That he had more advantage to set a-
gainst them by open force, then to counter-
plot all their treacherous devices, which they
held under the cloak of Peace and Friendship.
They moreover presented to him the ill estate
of the Affairs of Spain; that having expended
all their Treasure in the Low-Country War,
they were fain to have recourse to extraordi-
nary ways to recover it. But above all, they
forgot not to lay before him the great and ad-
vantagious Qualities that he had above Philip
the third his Adversary, that he might be the
easier induced to assault a man whom they
taught him to despise and esteem feeble.

Character
of Philip 3.
of Spain.

I may say to this purpose of this King, that
though he had his spirit very clear, and that
the diligences of Philip the second his Father
had given him all knowledge necessary to go-
vern; nevertheless out of a certain timidity
and distrust of himself, too ordinary in many
great

great men, shunning labour and pains, he had absolutely discharged himself of the Government on the Marquis of Denia; whom he made soon after Duke of Lerma. It will be difficult to express how this man rendered himself odious, and how the other was little esteemed so long as he endured: but in fine, God of his grace opened the eyes of this young Prince: he broke his chains; and he who was become as it were his Master, believed himself no better able to divert all those disgraces which might happen, than by becoming a Church-man and a Cardinal.

We may in passing make some reflection of the pitiful estate to which a Sovereign reduces himself; who for not comporting himself as he ought, necessarily falls into the disdain and aversion of his Subjects. "Without doubt the greatest misfortune can arrive him, is to be regarded as inferior and subject to another; to have his Ears continually filled with that voice of his people, crying on all sides, *Govern us*; and to permit himself to be guided rather by five or six wicked Flatterers, who make him believe that he is Master, though he exercises no one Function, then by the truth or judgement of his whole Kingdom. For if he desire to know whether he be truly Sovereign or no, he need only regard himself without flattery, If it be he that gives Charges of his proper motion; if it be he that chuses the persons; if the Officers about him are of his own making;

A good & profitable reflection.

Part III. "king; if he have ever said, *I will have it so*,
 "in any affair of importance; if he see him-
 "self always followed and accompanied by
 "Grandees; if those who have business, who
 "seek employments, and who have need of his
 "favour, are in his Anti-chamber: in fine,
 "that none in his Realm hath more respect and
 "more assiduity; and then he shall clearly know
 "who it is that reigns. But it is not enough
 "for him to know who it is; he must, after
 "the example of *Philip* the third, of whom we
 "were now speaking, endeavour to put him-
 "self in possession of his Authority. It is in
 "that the Courage of a Prince principally con-
 "sists: for in what can he better make known
 "his Resolution and Valour, then in taking
 "upon him that degree and power which
 "God hath given him? Is there a truer point
 "of honour for a King, then in maintaining in
 "his person the rights of his Royalty? With-
 "out dissembling, it is more weakness and
 "shame for a Sovereign to submit himself to
 "him who ought to be submitted to his will,
 "then to flee in the day of battel before his
 "enemies: for the bravest are sometimes put
 "to the worst; and the courage of a King con-
 "sists much less in fighting with his hands,
 "then governing with his head. What would
 "it be for him to overcome his enemies, if he
 "sees himself beneath his own subject, who
 "under pretext to serve him, reduces him
 "and his Estate into fetters; and who dares
 "invest himself with all the glory and all the
 "ad-

In what the
 courage of
 a Sove-
 reign prin-
 cipally
 consists.

“advantage of command, making him believe Part III.
 “that it is to ease him of the burthen?”

Our *Henry* was not of this temper : his The goodness of
 goodness was extream, but it was neither weak Henry the
 nor timid : his knowledge and understanding Great.
 were not useless, but always laborious and active : nothing was above him, but God himself ; nothing on any side of him, but Justice and Clemency, his two faithful Counsellours. The most hardy of his Ministers trembled when he but bent his brow : all familiarities immediately ceased, and none durst be other than silent, when he was pleased to take the tone of Master.

Now this great King conserving still the splendour of his Majesty, we cannot wonder if he were esteemed above *Philip* the third ; who for the present suffered himself to be absolutely governed. And therefore because they knew he understood his fault, they believed that he would be more easily perswaded to make War against him. Indeed he was sufficiently resolute ; and after so many injuries as he had received from the *Spaniard*, his resentment had no great need of a spur. However, before he would engage himself in so great an Enterprize, he would manage all his Affairs so exactly, gather together so much Money, Artillery and Ammunitions, fortifie so well his Frontiers, take such good order within his Kingdom, assure himself of so many Friends and Allies, raise such powerful Armies ; and in fine, make his Party so strong, that the suc-
 cess

But the
 King ha-
 stens not
 the War,

Part III. cess should not at all be doubtful; and that assaulting that ambitious power, he might be assured to overthrow it: and therefore he judged it not to the purpose too much to hasten.

In the mean time, he neglected not other means to acquire reputation; not thinking it less glorious to blazon forth his name by the repute of his wisdom in Counsels, then by the power of his Arms. By the last, he had been victorious over the Rebels and the Spaniards; by the other, he rendred himself Arbitrator of the great differences of *Christendome*, and acquired a superiority so much more noble, because given him without constraint.

He makes himself Arbitrator of the differences of *Christendom* 1606. After the death of *Clement 8.* he causes to be chosen *Leo xi.* who soon dies, and *Paul 5.* succeeds.

Pope *Clement viii.* being dead about the end of the year 1605. he would employ his credit to make a Pope of his Friends. The Cardinal of *Joyeuse* his Ambassadour, and his other Agents, laboured so well, that they made the Votes fall on *Alexander de Medich*, who was named the Cardinal of *Florence*. He took the name of *Leo xi.* but he died at the end of sixteen days: so the business was to begin again. The King would not that they should take pains in the choice of another; and declared, That *France* took no other interest then that an honest man should be chosen. The Conclave in the end chose the Cardinal *Borghese*, who was named *Paul 5.*

A great difference between *Paul 5.* and the *Venetians* 1605.

In the first years of his *Papacy*, there was re-kindled a great difference which was begun under his Predecessours, which had set on fire all

all the corners of *Italy*, and possibly all *Christi* *Part III.*
standome, if our *Henry* had not taken care to
 extinguish it. I am about to tell the subject
 of it.

The *Signory of Venice* had formerly made The *Vene-*
 an Ordinance or Decree, which prohibited tians had
 the Monks from purchasing Lands in their made a law
 Dominions above the value of twenty thou- to bound
 sand *Ducats*; and enjoyning every one that had the Acqui-
 purchased above that value, to remit it to the sitions of
Signory, who would re-imburse them the pur- the Cler-
 chase and the improvements they had made on gy.
 it. And following the foot-steps of this an-
 cient Decree, they made another, which for-
 bad the founding or building of new Churches,
 Convents and Monasteries, without express
 permission of the *Signory*, upon pain of banish-
 ment, and confiscation of such Foundations
 and Buildings.

It was indeed part of the function and
 charge of Bishops to hinder this multiplication
 of Convents; but either through negligence,
 or too much facility, they gave to all as much
 permission as they demanded: insomuch that
 the Commonwealth seeing the default of the
 Prelates, found themselves constrained to take
 notice of it: otherwise it would soon have
 happened that all their Cities would have been
 nothing else but Convents and Churches; and
 all their Revenues, which ought to bear the
 charge of their Estate, and serve for the nour-
 ishment of married people, who furnish it
 with Souldiers, Merchants and Labourers,

Part III. would have been expended onely in the maintenance of Nuns and Fryers.

They make other Decrees. The Senate therefore made another Decree, which prohibited Ecclesiasticks from purchasing any immoveable Goods, except by the permission of the Senate. And at the same time it happened that an Abbot and a Canon, accused of very horrid Crimes committed in the Territories of the *Signory*, were imprisoned by the Authority of the Secular Justice, which passed for a strange attempt on the other side the Mountains, where the Ecclesiasticks are not at all subject to Secular Justice.

Paul 5. offended at these Decrees.

He sends Briefs to revoke them.

Now Paul the fifth coming to the Pontifical Chair, not able to pass by, said he, all these attempts of the Secular Estate on the Ecclesiasticks, dispatched at the same time two Briefs to his *Nuntio of Venice*: One containing the revocation of the Decrees made by the *Signory* touching the purchasing of temporal Estates; and the other commanding the sending back the Abbot and the Canon to the Court of the Church. The *Nuntio* signified these Briefs to the *Signory*; who answered boldly, That their Authority was born with them; That no person but they had to do with it; and, That they should know how to maintain it against any would enterprize to oppose it. Both the one and the other employed the best Pens of the time to defend their Rights, and confute the Defences of their Adversaries. There were spread abroad every where great quantities of

Manifesto's and Treaties, full of reasons of Part III. Right, passages of holy Scripture, Authorities of Fathers and Councils, and Examples drawn from History.

In the mean time the Pope extremely offended at this answer, thunders out an Excommunication against the Duke and the Senate, if within four and twenty days they revoked not their Decrees, and consigned the prisoners into the hands of the Nuntio.

He Excommunicates the Senate.

The Signory was not at all moved at it, but boldly declared the sentence of Excommunication Null and abusive; nor was there any Ecclesiastick in their whole Territories who would attempt the publishing it, or durst observe the Interdict, or make Divine Service cease. There were only the *Capuchins* and the *Jesuites*, who resolved to depart, and demand leave of the Signory. They granted it to the *Capuchins*, with liberty to return when they pleased; and to the *Jesuites*, with prohibitions of ever re-entring their Dominions.

They declare his sentence of Excommunication null and abusive.

Things being thus embroyled to the utmost between these two powers, the Spaniards look't out with a sharp eye, to make their profit of these divisions; and underhand cast oyl into the fire, though openly they made shew of extinguishing it. For on the one side they encouraged the *Venetians*, and heartned them up to maintain their rights; and on the other, they commanded their Governours of *Naples* and *Milan* to serve the holy Father with

1607.

Part III. with all their powers. Henry the Great more sincere and more disinterested, embraced this occasion, to establish his power in *Italy*, in a more fair and just manner. He assured the Pope, that as the true Eldest Son of the Church, he would always sustain its Interests; and that in case of rupture, he would go himself in person with an Army of forty thousand men: but he intreated him that before it came to that, he would grant that he should try all means possible for an accommodation.

He answered likewise to the Ambassador of *Venice*, who demanded his assistance, that he ought it to the holy Father in prejudice of all others: And therefore he exhorted the *Signory* to give him content; which that they might do without wounding their honour or rights, he desired to be Mediator.

He sends to this purpose Cardinal *Joyeuse*, who concludes an accommodation.

Both parties having accepted his Mediation, he dispatched the Cardinal *Joyeuse* into *Italy*; who, to speak all in two words, managed this Negotiation with so much Prudence, that in the end he concluded an accord. The Treaty contained four Principal Articles.

1. That the *Signory* should consign the two prisoners into the hands of the Ambassador of *France*, to remit them to his Holiness.
2. That they should revoke the Manifesto and Declaration they had made against the Apostolick Censures.
3. That they should re-establish all Ecclesiasticks in their goods.
4. That the Pope should give them absolution

tion

don; and that in requital, they should send Part III
to thank him by a Noble Embassy, and .802TH
assure him of their filial obedience.

On the morrow the Cardinal de Joyeuse The Pope
coming to the place assigned by the Senate, the absolves
doors being shut, in the presence of the the Signory.
Duke and five and twenty Senators, and the
Ambassador of France, revoked the Excom-
munication, and gave Absolution to the Sig-
nory. All these things passed without the Spa-
niards having the least participation, though
they endeavoured to make themselves of the
Feast. Thus had both parties some sort of
contentment, by the intermission of Henry
the Great.

There was only the business of the Jesuites, There was
which for some months retarded the Treaty, nothing
and which some thought would have quite but the re-
broke it; because the Pope considering that establissh-
they were driven away for his sake, absolute- ment of the
ly resolved that the Signory should re-esta- Jesuites
blish them in their houses and in their goods: not obtaine-
and they were as obstinate, rather to hazard ed.
all then to consent to it. In fine, the Pope
perswaded by the Eloquence of Cardinal
Perron, who was then at Rome, thought it
better to release this point, then hazard the
putting *Christendom* in a flame; so that they
remained banished out of the lands of the
Signory. The present Pope, Alexander the
seventh, hath by his intercession re-established
them.

Part III. If the accommodation of the differences
 1608. between the Pope and the *Venetians* added much to the renown and reputation of our *Henry*, reviving the credit of *France* beyond the mountains, where it seemed dead, and depressing as much that of the *Spaniards*, which before seemed Paramount; the Treaty which he managed between the King of *Spain* and the Estates of the United Provinces, purchased him no less fame among the Protestants and the people of the North. I will recount the History in few words.

The King
 endeavours
 an accom-
 modation
 between
 the *Hollan-
 der* and
Spaniard.

He under-
 stand assists
 the *Hollan-
 der* with
 men and
 money.

Janus sent
 for this ac-
 commodat-
 ion.

The United Provinces, vulgarly called *Holland*, from the name of the most considerable of the Seven Provinces which compose this body, had some reason to complain, that the King had made the Treaty at *Vervins* without their consent; and that he had obliged himself not to assist them, neither directly nor indirectly. However he had not ceased to supply them daily with money, and to cause to go to their Service a great quantity of Nobility and Volunteers, in such manner that there were many entire *French* Regiments. So that it was not without apparent reason that the *Spaniards* cried out, that he visibly infringed the Treaty at *Vervins*: but these reproaches were not just; for they had broke it first by an hundred attempts, of which we have before mentioned some.

In the mean time, the King who was a good husband of his money, was weary of furnishing the *Hollander* with so much, and did

did greatly wish them in an Estate that they might not put him to so much charge. There was onely one way to effect it, which was procuring their peace from the Spaniards. He resolved then to labour in it; and chose the President Janin, a man of great knowledge, to manage this Negotiation.

The two parties presently consented to a Treaty of eight months; during which the Estates, to the end they might Treat with more reputation and security, prayed the King to grant them an offensive and defensive League. He willingly granted it them: of which these were the Principal Articles.

They come presently to an eight months truce. The King makes an offensive and defensive League with the Hollander.

He promised them faithfully to assist and aid them in all he could, to obtain from the King of Spain a good and assured peace. That if it pleased God they did obtain it, he would cause it to be observed with all his power; and would defend them against all who would infringe it; and to this effect he would maintain in their Service ten thousand Footmen at his own charges, so long as they should have need of them. Reciprocally the States obliged, that if he were assailed in his Kingdom by whosoever it were, they would immediately assist him with five thousand Footmen at their own Expence; and they would leave it to the Kings choice, to take this assistance in Souldiers, or in Ships fitted and furnished at all points to fight at Sea.

The Spaniards Alarm'd at this League.

The Spaniards were extremely Alarm'd

at this League.

Part III at this League. *Don Pedro de Toledo*, one of the greatest Lords of Spain, passing through France to go to the Low-Countries, made great complaints to the King: Nevertheless, many imagined that all the indyfe he made, tended only to oblige him the rather to prosecute the peace for the *Hollanders*; for Spain was even to extremity wearied with a war so long, so tiresome and so bloody, with so great Expences and so little progress.

Don Pedro de Toledo makes great complaints to the King.

This *Don Pedro* according to the humour of the Spanish Nobility, was of an austere and grave countenance, high and magnificent in his words, when he spoke of the honour and glory of his Nation, and the power of his King: but out of that, courteous and civil; submissive and respectful where he should be so, gallant, witty and spiteful. There passed between the King and him, things very remarkable, which we must not forget.

Things very curious which passed betwixt the King and *Don Pedro*.

The King believing that he brought him threats of War, and knowing that the Spanish *words* had spread abroad a report that he was quite lame with the Gout, and unable to mount on horseback; he would make him know that his strength and activity was not at all diminished. He received him in the great Gallery at *Fontain-bleau*, and made him take twenty or thirty turns at so great a pace, that he put him out of breath; and after told him, *You see now, Sir, how well I am.*

At

At this first Audience Don Pedro brought his Beads in his hand. He represented to the King the general interest that all Catholick Princes had in the ruine or conversion of Hereticks, and the great Wars which his Master had made for this purpose. Afterward changing his discourse, he told him, that the Catholick King earnestly desired to Allie himself more strictly with him, and to make marriages between their children, Provided that the King would renounce the Alliance and Protection of the Low-Countries. The King freely answered, that his children were of so good a house as might well be accepted; that he desired no constrained friendships nor conditions; that he could not abandon his friends; but that those who would not be so, might repent them of being his enemies.

Their entertainments.

Don Pedro upon this exalted the greatness and power of Spain. The King without being moved let him know that it was the Statue of Nebuchadnezzar, composed of several sorts of matters, and which had its feet of Clay. Don Pedro came to reproaches and threats. The King soon gave him his change; and told him, That if the King of Spain continued his attempts, he would carry flames even into the Escorial; and that if he once mounted on horseback, he would soon be at Madrid. The Spaniard arrogantly answered him, King Francis was there indeed. It was therefore, replied the King, that I would go to revenge his injuries, those of France, and my own.

Lively and quick replies.

After

Part III.

After some words a little high, the King with a more still voice told him: *My Lord Ambassador, you are a Spaniard, and I a Gascon, let not us grow passionate. They returned then to terms of sweetness and civility.*

Another time the King shewing him his Buildings at *Fontain-bleau*, and demanding of him what he thought of them? he replied, that in his opinion he had lodged God very narrowly. There was then but two Chappels, which were in the Court, made in oval, and which were truly very little. The King could not endure to have his piety accused; and therefore answered him very sharply: *You Spaniards know not how to give God other then Material Temples; we French-men lodge God not onely in stones, we lodge him in our hearts; but though he should be lodged in yours, I fear it would be in stone still.*

From *Fontain-bleau* they came to *Paris*, where the King one day shewing him his Gallery of the *Louvre*, and demanding his opinion of it; *The Escorial is much another thing,* said Don Pedro. *I believe it,* replied the King; *but has it a Paris about it like my Gallery?*

One day Don Pedro seeing at the *Louvre* the Kings Sword in the hands of one of his followers, advanced to it, and putting one knee on the ground, kissed it; *rendering this honour,* said he, *to the most glorious Sword in Christendom.*

During the truce of eight months, of which we have spoken, the President *Fanin* incessantly laboured for a Treaty. There were

two

Don Pedro
kisses the
Kings
Sword.

Two great difficulties; one, that the King of *Spain* would not treat with the United Provinces, but as with Subjects; and they would have him acknowledge them to be free and independent: the other, that the Prince of *Orange*, whose power and authority would be extremely weakned by the Peace, opposed it by a thousand Artifices, being sustained in it by the Province of *Zealand*, who ever desired War, and by some Cities of its faction.

Two obstacles in the Treaty of the *Hollanders* surmounted by the King.

These two obstacles were in the end surmounted. The *Spaniard* yeilded to the first, and acknowledged that he owned the States for Free States, Provinces, and Countries: and about the second, the King spoke so high to the Prince of *Orange*, that he durst not stop the course of the Treaty. It ended no longer however in a Peace, but onely in a Truce of twelve years, which was free and assured Commerce on one part and on the other.

The Treaty ends in a twelve years Truce.

The renown of this accommodation carried the Kings glory throughout all *Europe*. The Duke of *Venice* told our Ambassador in the Senate, That that Signory entred into new admiration of the prudent conduct of our King, who never deceived himself in his undertaking, nor never gave blow in vain: that he was the true upholder of the repose and felicity of *Christendom*; and that it had nothing of happiness to desire, but that he might reign for ever. An Elogie so much the more worthy and glorious, because we may say with truth, that *Venice* hath

Great praise given by the republick of *Venice* to our Henry.

Part III. still been the Seat of Politick wisdom; and that the prayes which came from that Senate, are as so many Oracles.

All desire
his friend-
ship and
protection.

The Friendship and Protection of this great King was sought on all sides; all was referred to his Arbitration, and all implored his assistance. And as he was equally powerful as wise, feared as loved; there was none who durst contradict his judgement, or assault those whom he protected. But he was so just, that he would not enterprize any thing upon the Rights of another, nor maintain the rebellions of Subjects against their Sovereign: A certain proof of which he gave to the *Maurisques*.

He will
not protect
Subjects
against
their Sove-
raign.

It is known how heretofore the *Moores* or *Saragins* invaded all *Spain*, towards the year 725. The *Christians* with the aid of the *French*, had regained it from them by little and little; so that there remained no more then the Kingdom of *Granada*, which was little in Extent, but very rich, and extremely populous, because all the remnants of that Infidel Nation were retired into that little space. *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, finished the Conquest of that Kingdom, in the year 1492. and so put an end to the Government of the *Moores*, and to the *Mahumetan* Religion in *Spain*; constraining the Infidels to take Baptism, or to retire into *Affrica*.

What the
Maurisques
were.

Now as those who had thus professed the *Christian* Religion had done it perforce, they

they for the most part remained *Mahometans* in their hearts, or *Jews* (for there were many *Jews* amongst them) and secretly brought up their children in their incredulity. To which likewise the *Spanish* Rigor did much contribute, putting great distinction between the new Christians and the old: For they received not the new ones either to Charges or Sacred Orders; they allied not themselves with them; and, which is worse, made a thousand * *avaries* upon them, and oppressed them with excessive Imposts. So that these unfortunate people seeing themselves thus trampled on, and being too weak of themselves to loosen themselves from their Yoke, they resolved to address themselves to some strange power, but which should be Christian; because that of the King of *Morocco*, or the other Princes of *Africa*, would have appeared too odious. To this effect they had secret recourse by Deputies to our *Henry*, when he was then but King of *Navarro*. Afterwards in the year 1595. when they saw that he had overcome the League, and had got the upper hand in his affairs, they again implored his Protection. He hearkned favourably to their propositions; sent disguised Agents into *Spain*, to see the Estate of their affairs; and made them hope that he would assist them. And truly he might have done it, since then he was in War with the King of *Spain*; and it is lawful to make use of all sorts of Arms, to defend our selves against

The *Spaniards* treat them ill.

* An *avarie* is, when by a false accusation money is forced from any person.

They demand assistance of *Henry the Great*.

Part II. our enemies. But now being returned this year 1608. to sollicite him instantly to accept their propositions and offers, and to hear the answer from his own mouth; he plainly let them know, that the quality of *abrice-Christi-* *an King* which he bore, permitted him not to undertake their defence, so long as the peace of *Vervin* lasted; but that if the *Spaniard* should first openly infringe it, he should have just cause to receive them into his Protection.

He refuses it.

Their Deputies having lost all hopes on this side, addressed themselves to the King of *England*, whom they found yet less disposed then he; to lend them assistance. In the mean time their plots having taken wind in the Court of *Spain*, caused both fear and astonishment: for they were near a million of souls, and were possessed of almost all the Traffick, particularly that of *Oiles*, which is very great in that Country.

The King of Spain banisheth them all.

They are horribly ill Treated by the *Spaniards*,

King *Philip* the third found no other secure way to hinder the dangerous effects of their conspiracies, but banishing them quite out of his Territories; which he did by an Edict of the tenth of *January*, in the year 1610, which was executed with much cruelty, Inhumanity and Treachery. For in Transporting these unfortunate people into *Africa* as they had demanded, part were drowned in the Sea, others despoiled of all they had: so that those who remained to depart, perceiving the ill Treatment of their

Com-

Companions; fled towards France. one part Part III.
 by land to St. John de Luz; to the number of
 one hundred and fifty thousand; others in
 French Vessels, who brought them into divers
 ports of the Kingdom. But to speak truth,
 those who came by land were not much better
 treated by the French, then the others had and by the
 been by the Spaniards: for in crossing the French.
 Countries, they were almost all robbed and
 stript, and their Wives and Daughters ravish-
 ed: so that finding so little safety in a Coun-
 try wherein they believed they might find re-
 fuge, they imbarqued by the Kings permission
 in the Ports of Languedoc, and crossed over in-
 to Africa, where they are become implacable
 and most cruel enemies to all Christians. They are
 There remained some families in the Maritime Cities carried in-
 of the Kingdom, as in Bourdeaux and Rouen; to Africa,
 where it is suspected there is yet some of their but some
 Children, who privately follow the obstinacy stay in
 of their Fathers. France.

Much contrary to the taking the protection The great
 of these Infidels, the King was about very great designe of
 designs for the glory and extent of the Chris- Henry 4. for
 tian Religion towards the Levant. the extent
 But he of the
 would not declare himself, till he had so Christian
 ordered the Affairs of Christendome, Religion
 that there in the Le-
 should be no fear of any trouble or division, vant.
 and that it might make use of all its forces a-
 gainst so powerful an enemy as the Grand Sig-
 nor. Out of these thoughts, he had sent three
 or four Gentlemen into the Levant, who un-
 der the pretext of travelling and visiting the
 holy

Part III. holy places, might take notice of the Country, the disposition of the people, the estate of their Forces, the Garisons and Government of the Turks. Which having well considered, he promised himself, that after having composed the interests, and procured the union of the Christian Princes, he might in three or four years at most ruine this power esteemed so terrible; and that with an Army of five and thirty thousand foot-men, and twelve thousand horse only: *Alexander* the Great not having had more Forces to destroy the Empire of the *Perfians*, which without doubt was greater and more powerful then that of the *Turky*.

I shall declare what his great designe for the re-union of *Christendome* was, when I shall in brief have observed some important things which passed in the three or four last years of his Life.

He seeks means to raise money without burthening his people.

He would disengage his demains,

*The Greffis is a due to

the King of

63 s. 9 d.

Tours upon the sale of

wood in several places.

As he laboured diligently to heap up money, the Nerves of War, so he hearkned to all Propositions made for the gaining it; so much the more willingly, because his designe was to abolish all Taxes and Impositions. The first could not be done without much diminishing his Revenue; so it was necessary to find some other foundation in its place. Now this stock or foundation was the Demains of the Crown, which he would entirely disengage & encrease by a great quantity of new rights, and particularly by that of the * *Greffer*, which had been quite withdrawn for five or six years, but had brought him fifteen Millions a year. But when he

he was dead, Queen Mary de Medicis re-engaged it farther then it was before.

It is certainly worth our wishing, that this sacred Patrimony of the Crown might be regulated; and that care were taken to re-gather this Mass, which the Law of the Realm, and the diligences of so many wise Heads, have made and composed for the space of so many Ages, to maintain our Kings with splendour and magnificence, without being a charge to their Kingdom, except in great and urgent necessities.

As for the Impost, our Henry had a desire to buy from the particular Owners all the Salt-Marishes of *Poitou* and *Britanny*; and then when he had them in his hand, sell the Salt upon the place at what price he pleased to the Merchant, who should again retail it through the whole Kingdom, as they do Corn, without any constraint or imposition. In this manner there had been no need of so many Officers, Overseers, Controulers, Factors, and a hundred other people, which without fallacy amounted to near twenty thousand, all fed and paid at the expence of the King and Publick, and against whom he had often very great complaints. Thus the poor Country-people would not be burthened by them with imposed Salt; constraining them, will they, nill they, to take yearly a certain quantity: and it is certain the people would have had it four times better cheap then they have, and the King have raised much more money then he doth, without expence, without pains, and with-

and take
off the Im-
post by
buying the
Salt-
Marishes.

Part III. without the vexation of his subjects.

Now the King seeking means to fill his Coſſers, and to finde ſome other way then Taxes, it muſt be acknowledged that he made ſome Impoſts, and likewise ſome creation of Officers; but that he removed many things which gave cauſe of complaint to many perſons. And moreover, to pay his ancient Debts, and acquit himſelf of the recompences and penſions due to thoſe which had ſerved him in his Wars againſt the League, he was conſtrained to paſs for their profit the advice of ſeveral things which they propoſed: ſo that he loaded himſelf with that envy and thoſe reproaches, which ought more juſtly have fallen upon thoſe people then on himſelf. But thoſe who knew his intentions, blamed him not as did the others; for they called that good huſbandry and wiſe œconomy, which ſome termed avarice and inſatiable covetouſneſs.

Moreover, though the will of this Prince was very good for the eaſe of his people, and for the grandeur of his Eſtate; nevertheleſs it cannot be denied but he was ſometimes deceived in the choice of the means; and that all thoſe whereby he furniſhed himſelf, were not always as innocent as his intentions. He had two particularly, of which the one made ſome noiſe, but never ſucceeded; and the other was of very dangerous conſequence.

The firſt, was an inquiſition of the Rents of the * *Hoſtel de Ville*, by which he pretended to make thoſe looſe them, who had ill gained them; *Ville is the ſame at Paris, as Guild-hall at London.*

He is con-
strained to
acquit
himſelf of
old ſcores,
to make
ſome new
impoſts &
creations.

He makes
not always
uſe of in-
nocent
means.

Inquiſition
of the rents
of the Ci-
ty-houſe
cauſe di-
ſturbance.

* *Hoſtel de
Ville is the*

them; and this in it self was very just: but **Part III.** most part of the Rents having changed Owners, or been parted, he must of force trouble an infinite number of Families: so that all Paris was moved at it, and the Landlords had recourse to their Provost of the Merchants. This was *Miron*, who was likewise *Civil Lieutenant*; a man very zealous for the service of the King, as he had demonstrated in several occasions: but withal, a very honest Man, and one whom no interest in the world could bribe against the peoples, whose Magistrate he was. In sum, he sustained it stoutly, he spoke in the Assemblies of the *Hôtel de Ville*, acted with the Superintendent with like vigour, and made Remonstrances to the King. But in these Remonstrances, too much heat transported him to make some odious Comparisons, not of the Kings person, but of some people of his Council.

Miron, Provost of the Merchants, sustains the interest of the people.

The *Louvre* stormed; the people of the Court cried out, that he had blasphemed those whom he had taken notice of in his speeches. And those who were interested in this inquisition after Rents, used all their endeavours to incense the King, and to perswade him to punish rigorously this boldness. On the other side, the people having understood that their Magistrate was threatened, took fire sooner then it was believed: the Burgeses came in troops about his house to defend it. *Miron* instantly entreated them to retire, and not to make him Criminal. He remonstrated

Some would incense the King against him.

The people rise to defend him.

to

But III to them, that he feared nothing; that they had to do with a King as sweet and just as he was great and wise, and who would not let himself be carried away by the persuasions of ill Counsellors.

The King
counsell'd
to take him
by force.

The Kings
wife answer
worthy a
great Poli-
tician.

Upon this, those who wished him ill, employed all their endeavours to engage the King to take him by force, and to make valid his supreme Authority: but he wisely answered these people, That Authority doth not always consist in prosecuting things to the utmost extremity: That the time, the persons, and the cause, ought to be regarded: That having been ten years extinguishing the fire of civil War, he feared even the least sparkles: That *Paris* had cost him too much, to hazard the least danger of loosing it; which seemed to him infallible, if he followed their counsel, because he should be obliged to make terrible examples, which would in few days deprive him of the glory of his Clemency, and the love of his people, which he prized as much as, nay above, his Crown: That he had in an hundred other occasions made proof the fidelity and honesty of *Miron*, who had no ill intention; but without doubt he believed himself obliged by the duty of his Charge, to do what he did: That if some inconsiderate words had escaped him, he might well pardon them for his past services: That after all, if this man affected to be the Martyr of the people, he would not give him that glory, nor attract to himself the name of Persecutor or Tyrant: And that in fine,

fine; he would not prosecute a man whom he would resolve to loose, in so advantageous occasions.

Thus this wise King knew how prudently to dissemble a little fault: nor would he understand what passed, for fear of being obliged to some blow of Authority, which might possibly have had dangerous Consequences. He received therefore very favourably the excuses and humble submissions of Miran, and after prohibited the further pursuing the inquisitions of Rents, which had caused so much trouble.

He will not pursue this business of the Rents.

The second means of which he served himself to raise money, and which was of very dangerous consequence, was the *Paulette*, or Annual Right. To understand this business well, we must make some recital of things farther off.

Establishment of the *Paulette*.

The Offices of Judicature, of Polley and of the Revenues, had formerly been exercised in France under the first and second Race of our Kings, by Gentlemen: for the Nobility was obliged to study and understand the Laws of the Kingdom. They were chosen for the maturity of their Age and Judgement: they were changed from time to time, from one seat to another: nor took they any Fees from Parties, but onely a Salary very moderate, which the Publick paid them rather for honour than recompence. Afterwards in the end of the second Race, and the beginning of the third, the Nobility becoming ignorant and weak

Justice formerly administered in France by Gentlemen.

Part III. weak together, the Plebeians and Burgeses having learning the knowledge of the Laws, raised themselves by little and little to these Charges, and began to make them better worth, because they drew all their Honour and all their Dignity thence, not having any other by their birth, as the Gentlemen had. Yet they had not over-much employment; for the Churchmen possessed almost all the Jurisdiction, and had their Officers which administered Justice.

The Parliament of France meddle with particular affairs, and is made sedentary at Paris.

They make all other Judges subalternate to them.

In the mean time, the Parliament, which before was as the Council of Estate of the Kingdom, and an Epitomy of the general Estates, taking upon them to trouble themselves with the knowledge of differences between particular persons, whereas before they onely treated of great Affairs of Policy; *Philip* the fair, or according to some others, *Lewis Hutin* his son, made it sedentary at Paris. Now this Company of Judges being most illustrious, because the King often took seat amongst them, the Dukes, Peers and Prelates of the Realm made a part of them, and that the most able people for Law were chosen to fill places there; they made depend upon them all the power of other Judges-Royal; to wit, the Bayliffs and Seneschals, who though before Sovereign Judges, became now Subalternate to them.

Long time after, our other Kings created likewise at divers times many other Parliaments, but out of a sole intention the better to distribute Justice without any pecuniary in-

interest: for by it they charged their Coffers with new Wages, to be paid these new Officers.

At this time the number of the Officers of Justice was very small; and the order which was observed to fill the vacancies in Parliament, perfectly good. The custome was, to keep a Register of all the able Advocates and Lawyers; and when any Office came to be vacant, they chose three, whose Names they carried to the King, who preferred him he pleased. But the Favourites and the Courtiers soon corrupted this Order: they perswaded the Kings not to confine themselves to those presented, but to name one of their proper motion: which those people did, to draw some present from him who should be named by their recommendation. And the abuse was so great, that oftentimes the Charges were filled with ignorant People and Porters; by reason of which, people of merit held the condition of an Advocate much more honourable than that of a Counsellour.

The mischief daily encreasing, and the rich people becoming extreamly liquorish of these Charges for lucre, and their Wives out of vanity, those who governed began to make a Merchandize of them, and to draw money from them. Thus under *Levis* the *xii.* his Coffers being exhausted by the long Wars of *Italy*, the Offices of the Revenue began to become vendible. However, that good King having soon foreseen the dangerous consequence,

The number of the Officers of Parliament small.

How Offices became vendible

Part. III. quence, resolved to re-imburse those who had
under bought them: but dying in that good designe,
Francis I. *Francis* the first, of whom he had well predi-
* He had cted that he would * spoile all, sold likewise
often said, those of Judicature: afterwards new ones
that for were at several times created, onely of purpose
Boy would spoile all. to raise money.

and **Henry 1.** Afterward *Henry* the second his Son created
the Presidents: and *Charles* the ninth, and
Henry the third heaping ill upon ill, and ruine
upon ruine, made a great number of other
Creations of all sorts, to have these Wares to
sell. And moreover, they sold Offices when
they were vacant, either by death or forfei-
ture.

Hitherto the ill was great, but not incurable:
a part of these Offices need onely have
been suppressed, when they became vacant;
and the rest when so, filled with persons of ca-
pacity and merit. Thus in twenty years, this
Ants-nest of Officers might have been reduced
to a very little number, and those as honest
people.

How this might be remedied. But the business was not in this manner
made known to *Henry* the Great: they repre-
sented it to him in another sense. They let
him understand, that since he drew no profit
from vacant Offices, being almost always obli-
ged to give them, he would do well to finde
the means to discharge that way his Coffers of
a part of the Wages he paid his Officers; which
he might do, by granting them their Offices
for their Heirs; reserving a moderate sum of
mo-

money which they should yearly pay, yet without constraining any person: so that it should be a favour, and not an oppression. This was named the Annual Right, otherwise the *Panlete*, from the name of the proposer, named *Panlete*, who gave the Counsel, and was the first Farmer. All the Officers were not wanting to pay this Right, to assure their Offices to their heirs.

Part. III.

But on the contrary is made incurable by the *Panlete*.

We need not here tell the mischiefs and inconveniencies which this wicked invention hath caused, and doth daily cause. The most stupid may easily know them, and see well that it is a disease whose remedy at present is difficult.

Which causes great abuses.

I will not charge this History with all the Ceremonies and Rejoycings made at the Birth and Baptism of all the Children of Henry the Great; nor at divers Marriages of the Princes and Grandees of the Court, amongst others of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Vendosme*, which were made in the Month of July, 1609.

The Prince of *Conde* Espoused *Charlotta* 1609.
Margarita of *Montmorency*, Daughter of the Marriage of
Countable; who was wonderfully fair, and the Prince
had a presence absolutely noble: which the of *Conde*,
King having considered, was more lively
struck with her, then he had ever been with
any other; which caused a little after, the
treat of the Prince of *Conde*, who carried her
into *Flanders*, and thence retired to *Milain*:
Not without the Kings extreme displeasure,
to

Part III. to see the first Prince of his blood cast himself into his enemies hands.

And of the Duke of Vendosme.

The Duke of *Vendosme* Espoused *Mada-moiselle de Merceur*, to whom he had been affianced since the year one thousand six hundred ninety seven, as we have said before; however, the Mother of the Lady standing upon high punctilio's of honour, brought many troubles to the accomplishment of this Marriage; so that it had never been made, had not the King highly concerned himself in it. This was none of the least difficulties of his life: for he had a high and obstinate spirit to bend; however, he employed only ways of sweetness and perswasion; acting in this business, only as a Father who loved his Son, and not as a King who would be obeyed.

What were the Kings diversifements.

Now will I speak of his ordinary diversifements, Hunting, Building, Feasts, Play, and Walking. I will adde only, That in Feasts and Merriments he would appear as good a Companion, and as Jovial as another: That he was of a merry humour when he had the glass in his hand, though very sober: That his Mirth and good Discourses were the delicatest part of the good Cheer: That he witnessed no less Agility and Strength in Combats at the Barriers, Courses at the Ring, and all sorts of Gallantries, then the youngest Lords: That he took delight in Balls, and Danced sometimes; but to speak the truth, with more affection then good grace. Some carped that so great a Prince should abase himself to such

such follies, and that a Grey-beard should please to act the young man. It may be said for his excuse, that the great toiles of his spirit had need of these divertisements. But I know not what to answer to those who reproach him with too great a love to playing at Cards and Dice, little befitting a great King; and that withal he was no fair Gamester, but greedy of Coin, fearful at great Stakes, and humorous upon a loss. To this I must acknowledge, that it was a fault in this great King, who was no more exempt from Blots, then the Sun from Beams.

He loved
Play too
much.

It might be wished for the honour of his memory, that he had been only guilty of this; but that continual weakness he had for fair Ladies: was another much more blamable in a Christian Prince, in a man of his age, who was married; to whom God had shewed so many graces, and who had conceived such great designs in his spirit. Sometimes he had desires which were passant, and only fixt for a night: but when he met with beauties which struck him to the heart, he loved even to folly; and in these transports appeared nothing less then *Henry the Great*.

He was ex-
tremely
given to
women.

The Fable saies that *Hercules* took the Spindle and Spun, for the love of the fair *Omphale*. *Henry* did something more mean for his Mistresses. He once disguised himself like a Country-man, with a Wallet of straw on his back, to come to the fair *Gabriella*. And it hath been reported, that the Marchioness

This passi-
on made
him do
shameful
things.

A a

of

Part III of *Vermail* hath seen him more then once at her feet, weeping his disdain and injuries.

Twenty Romances might be made of the intrigues of his several loves with the Countess of *Guthe*, when he was yet but King of *Navarre*; with *Jacqueline* of *Bucil*, whom he made Countess of *Morer*; and with *Charlotta d'Essards*, without counting many other Ladies, who held it a glory to have some Charm for so great a King.

This causes often contentions with his wife.

The high esteem and affection which the *French* had for him, hindred them from being offended at so scandalous a liberty: but the Queen his wife was extremely perplexed at it; which hourly caused controversies between them, and carried her to disdain and troublesome humours. The King, who was in fault, endured it very patiently, and employed his greatest Confidants, and sometimes his Confessor, to appease his spirit. So that he had continually a reconciliation to make. And these contentions were so ordinary, that the Court which at first were astonished at them; in the end took no more notice.

Conjugal duty without doubt obliged the King not to violate his faith to his Legitimate Spouse; at least not to keep his Mistresses in her sight: but if he in this point ought to have been a good husband, so he ought to be likewise in that of Authority, and in accustoming his wife to obey him with more submission, and not perplex him as she did with hourly complaints, reproaches, and sometimes threats.

The

The trouble and displeasure of these domestic broiles, certainly retarded the Execution of that great design which he had formed for the good and perpetual repose of *Christendom*, and in fine for the destruction of the *Ottoman* power.

Part III.
And hinders his great design.

Many have spoken diversely; but see here what I find in the *Memoires* or Notes of the Duke of *Sully*; who certainly must know something, being as he was, so great a Confident of this Kings: which makes me report it from him.

What that was.

The King (said he) desiring to put in Execution those projects he had conceived after the Peace of *Verdin*, believed that he ought first to establish in his Kingdom an unshaken Peace, by reconciling all spirits both to him and among themselves, and taking away all causes of bitterness. And that moreover it was necessary for him to choose people capable and faithful; who might see in what his Revenue or Estate might be bettered, and instruct him so well in all his Affairs, that he might of himself take Counsels, and discern the good from the ill, feasible from impossible enterprizes, and such as were proportionate to his Revenues. "For an expeance made beyond them, draws the peoples curses,

The means with which he served himself, to put it in Execution.

"and those are ordinarily followed by Gods.

To this purpose he grants an Edict to the *Hugonots*, and pays his debts.

He granted an Edict to the *Hugonots*, that the two Religions might live in Peace. Afterwards he made a certain and fixed Or-

Part III.

Which re-
gains the
reputation
and credit
of *France*.

He joyns
to him all
Christian
Princes by
promising
his con-
quests.

He reunites
them, by ac-
commoda-
ting their
differences.

The Prin-
ces he made
his friends,

der to pay his debts, and those of the King-
dom contracted by the disorders of the
times; the profusions of his Ancestors; and
by the payments and purchases of men and
places which he was forced to make during
the League. *Sully* shewed him an account in
the year 1607. by which appeared Acquit-
tances for eighty seven Millions: which esta-
blished the reputation and credit of *France*
among strangers, by whom it was before much
cried out upon.

That done, he continually laboured to
joyn in his great design all *Christian* Princes,
offering to give them all the fruit of his
Enterprizes against the Infidels, without
reserving any thing for himself: for he
would not, said he, have other Estates than
France.

He likewise proposed to himself the
seeking of all occasions to extinguish disor-
ders, and to pacifie differences among the
Christian Princes, so soon as they should see
them conceived; and that without any other
interest, then that of the Reputation of a
Princee Generous, dis-interested, wise and just.

He began to make his Friends and Associ-
ates the Princes and Estates which seemed
best disposed towards *France*, and the least
indisposed to its interests; as the Estates of
Holland, or the United Provinces; the *Venetians*,
the *Swisses*, and the *Grisons*. After ha-
ving bound them to him by very strong ties,
he endeavoured to negotiate with the three
puissant

puissant Kingdoms of the North, England, Denmark and Swedeland; to discuss and decide their differences; and likewise to endeavour to reconcile them to the Pope, or at least to obtain a cessation of that hatred and enmity by some formulary, in such manner as they might live together: so that it had been advantageous to the Pope, in that they had acknowledged him for the first Prince of Christendom as to Temporals, and in that case rendered him all respect. He endeavoured in fine to do the same thing among the Electors, the Estates and Cities Imperial; being obliged particularly, said he, to take care of an Empire had been founded by his Predecessours. Afterwards he founded the Lords of Bohemia, Hungary, Transylvania and Poland, to know if they would concur with him in the designe of taking away and rooting up for ever all causes of trouble and division in Christendom. He treated after that with the Pope, who approved and praised his Enterprize, and desired to contribute on his part all that should be possible.

These were the dispositions of his great designe, of which I shall now shew you the platform and model.

He desired perfectly to unite all Christendom, so that it should be one body, which had been and should be called the Christian Commonwealth; for which effect he had determined to part it into fifteen Dominions or Estates; which was the most he could do to make them of equal power and strength, and whose limits

A a 3

How he would have accommodated the Protestant Princes with the Pope.

He treats with the Electors.

With the Lords of Bohemia, Hungary & Poland.

With the Pope.

Model of the designe of Hen. 4.

He would part Christendom into fifteen equal Dominions.

Part III. should be so well specified by the universal consent of the whole fifteen, that none could pass beyond them. These fifteen Dominations were the Pontificate or Papacy, the Empire of Germany, France, Spain, Great Britain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Savoy, or the Kingdom of Lombardy, the Signory of Venice, the Italian Commonwealth, or of the little Princes and Cities of Italy, the Belgians or Low-Countries, and the Swisses.

To wit, eleven Kingdoms, and four Republics.

Of these Estates, there had been five successive; France, Spain, Great Britain, Sweden and Lombardy: six elective; the Papacy, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland and Denmark: four Republics; two of which had been Democratical, to wit, the Belgians and the Swisses; and two Aristocratical or Signories, that of Venice, and that of the little Princes and Cities of Italy.

What the Pope had had.

The Pope had had besides those Lands he possessed, the whole Kingdom of Naples, and Homages as well of the Italian Commonwealth, as for the Island of Sicily.

The Signory of Venice.

The Signory of Venice had had Sicily in faith and homage of the holy Seat, without other rights then a simple kissing of feet, and a Crucifix of gold, from twenty years to twenty years.

The Italian Commonwealth.

The Italian Commonwealth had been composed of the Estates of Florence, Genoua, Lucca, Mantoua, Parma, Modena, Monacho, and other little Princes and Lords; and had likewise held of the holy Seat, paying onely for all by advance of a Crucifix of gold worth ten thousand Franks.

The

The Duke of *Savoy* besides those Lands he Part III.
 possessed, should likewise have *Milain*; and all Duke of
 should be erected into a Kingdom by the Pope, Savoy.
 under the title of the Kingdom of *Lombardy*:
 from which should have been taken *Cremona* in
 exchange of *Monferrat*, which should be joy-
 ned.

There should have been incorporated with Republick
 the *Helvetian* or Republick of the *Swissers*, the of the
French County, Alsacia, Tirol, the Country of Swissers.
Trent and their dependences; and it had done
 a simple homage to the Emperour of *Germa-*
ny, from five and twenty to five and twenty
 years.

All the seventeen Provinces of the Low- The Low-
 Countries, as well Protestants as Catholicks, Countries.
 should have been established into a free and so-
 veraign Republick, save onely a like homage to
 the Empire: and this Dominion should have
 been encreased by the Dutchy of *Cleves*, of
Juliers, of *Berghe, de la Mark*, and *Raven-*
stein, and other little neighbouring Signories.

To the Kingdom of *Hungary* had been Kingdome
 joyned the Estates of *Transylvania, Moldavia* of Hungary.
 and *Valachia*.

The Emperour had for ever renounced ag- The Em-
 grandizing himself or his by any confiscation, pire with
 disinherittance or reversion of Fiefs Masculine; free electi-
 but had disposed vacant Fiefs in favour of per- on.
 sons out of his Kindred, by the consent of the
 Electors and Princes of the Empire. It should
 likewise have been held of accord that the Em-
 pire should never upon any occasion whatso-

Part III. never be held successively by two Princes of one house, for fear of its perpetuating, as it hath for a long time in that of *Austria*.

Bohemia & Hungary c-
lective. The Kingdome of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia* had been likewise elective by the voice of seven Electors: to wit, 1. that of the Nobles, Clergy, and Cities of that Country: 2. of the Pope: 3. of the Emperour: 4. of the King of *France*: 5. of the King of *Spain*: 6. of the King of *England*: 7. of the Kings of *Swedenland*, *Denmark* and *Poland*, who all three had made but one voice.

A general
Council of
sixty per-
sons. Besides, to regulate the differences which might arise between the Confederates, and to decide them without sight of Fact, there should have been established an Order and Form of Procedure by a general Council, composed of sixty persons, four on the part of every Dominion, which should have been placed in some City in the midst of *Europe*, as *Mets*, *Nancy*, *Colen*, or others. There should likewise have been established three others in three several places, every one of twenty men, which should all three make report to the grand Council.

Three o-
thers, of
each twen-
ty. Moreover, by the consent of the general Council, which should be called the Senate of the Christian Commonwealth, there should be established an Order and Regulation between Sovereigns and Subjects; to hinder on one side the Oppression and Tyranny of Princes; and on the other side, the Tumults and Rebellions of Subjects. There should like-
wise

wise be raised and assured a stock of money and men, to which every Dominion should contribute according to the Assessment of the great Council, for the assistance of the Dominions bordering upon Infidels from their Assaults; to wit, Hungary and Poland against those of the Turks; and Sweden and Poland against the Muscovites and Tatars.

Part III.
and to assist
the Provin-
ces ad-
joining to
Infidels,

not blue
: 1111

After when all these fifteen Dominions had been well established with their rights, their Governours and Limits; which he hoped might be done in less then three years; they should together of their own accord have chosen three general Captains, two by Land, and one by Sea, who should all at once have assaulted the Ottoman house; to which each Dominion should have contributed a certain quantity of Men, Ships, Artillery and Money, according to the Tax imposed. The sum in gross which they should furnish out, should amount to two hundred sixty five thousand foot-men, fifty thousand horse, a train of two hundred and seventeen pieces of Cannon, with Waggons, Officers, and Ammunition proportionable, and one hundred and seventeen great Ships, without counting Vessels of less force, Fire-ships, or Ships of burden.

Three ge-
neral Cap-
tains, two
by Land,
and one by
Sea, to war
against the
Turks.

What for-
ces & what
train

This establishment would have been advantageous to all the Princes and Estates of Europe: There was onely the house of Austria which would suffer any loss, and which was to be despoiled to accommodate others.

None but
the house
of Austria
had suffer-
ed by this
establish-

But ment.

Part III. But the project was laid to make them either willingly or by force consent, in this manner. In Italy the First, it is to be supposed, that on the part of Pope, *Venetians*, and *Savoyard*, would consent: *Italy*, the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Savoy*; were well informed of the Kings designs, and that they ought to assist with all their forces; especially the *Savoyard*, who was moreover extremely animated, because the King gave his Daughter in marriage to his

In Germany *son Victor Amadeo*; In Germany four Electors; many Electors; and to wit, the *Palatine*, *Brandenburg*, *Cole*, and *Mentz* were likewise to know it, and favour it: and the Duke of *Bavaria* had their word, and that of the King, to raise him to the Empire; and many Imperial Cities had already addressed themselves to the King, to beseech him to honour them with his protection, and to maintain them in their Privileges, which had been abolished by the house of *Austria*: In *Bohemia* and *Hungary* there was intelligence held with the Lords and Nobility; and that the people, desperate with the weight of that yolk, were ready to shake it off, and to relieve themselves on the first proffered occasion.

The business of *Cleves* happened, of which we at present shall speak, which furnished him with a fair occasion to begin the execution of his projects: which he was to do in this manner. Having raised an Army of forty thousand men, as he did, he was in his march to dispatch

to-

towards all the Princes of *Christendome*, to give them the knowledge of his just and holy intentions. After, under the pretext of going to *Cleves*, he was to seize all the passages of *la Mense*, and all at once assault *Charlsmont*, *Mastrich*, and *Namur*, which were but ill fortified. At the same time the Cities of the Low-Countries had cryed out for liberty, and the Lords put themselves in the Field for the same purpose, and had blazoned the *Belgique* Lyon with the *Flowers de Lis*. The *Hollanders* had infested the Coasts with their Ships in very great number, to hinder the Traffick of the *Flemings* by Sea, as it was shut up by the *French* by Land: which should have been done of purpose to hasten the people to shake off the *Spanish* Rule, and to address themselves to the King and to the Princes his Associates, to pray the King of *Spain* to put them in liberty, and out of his goodness to restore peace to them, which they could never hope so long as they were under his Dominion.

In all probable appearance, at the approach of so great an Army, by reason of the intelligences of the principal Lords, by the insurrection of the great Cities, and of the love which these people have still had for liberty, *Flanders* would all have risen: especially when they had seen the wonderful order and exact discipline of his souldiers, who should have lived like good Guests, paying for all, and not doing the least outrage upon pain of death; and when it should be known that he laboured for the

Part III.
The Cities
of Flanders
should re-
volt.

The Kings
Army
should
have lived
in greater
der.

safety

Part III.

The King
would
have re-
served no-
thing of
his Con-
quests.

He had
with other
Princes
prayed
the Empe-
rour to re-
store the
Cities of
the Empire
to liberty.

Bohemia,
Hungary,
& Austria,
had made
the same
request.

safety of the people, not reserving any thing of all his Conquests, but the glory and the satisfaction of having restored those Provinces to themselves, without keeping so much as a Castle or Village to himself.

At the same time that he had put *Flanders* into a free state, and accommodated the difference of the succession of *Cleves*, all the Princes interested in this business, the Electors we have named, and the Deputies of many great Cities, were to come and thank him, and intreat him that he would joyn his Prayers and his Authority to the supplications they had to make to the Emperour, to dispose him to restore the Estates and Cities of the Empire to their ancient Rights and Immunities; above all, in the free Election of a King of the *Romans*, without using any practices, constraints, promises and threats: And that for this effect it should be from that moment resolved, that they should elect one of another house, then that of *Austria*. They had agreed among themselves, that it should be the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Pope had joyned with them in this request, which had been made with such instance, that it had been difficult for the Emperour, being unarmed as he was, to have refused it.

The like request had been made to the King and his Associates, by the people of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Austria*, *Siria*, and *Carinthia*: above all, for the right they had themselves to make choice of their Prince, and to put themselves under that form of

Go-

Government, they should think best, by the Part III
 advice of their friends and allies. To which
 the King condescending, had used all sorts of
 fair means, prayers and supplications, even
 below his dignity; that it might be seen he
 intended not so much to serve himself of pow-
 er, as of equity and reason.

After this the Duke of Savoy by the same The Duke
of Savoy
had deman-
ded the
Dower of
his wife
from the
Spaniard.
 way had demanded of the King of Spain,
 with all sorts of civility, and in the name of
 his children, that he would be pleased to
 give them a Dower for their Mother, as good
 and advantagious as he had to their Aunt
Isabella; and in case of refusal, the King was
 to permit *Lesdiguieres* to assist him with fif-
 teen thousand Footmen, and two thousand
 Horse, for the Conquest of *Milan*, or the
 Country of *Lombardy*; in which he would
 have been favoured by the greatest part of
 the Princes of *Italy*.

This done, he with his Associates were to The Pope
and Vene-
tians to be-
come medi-
ators of the
difference
of Navarre,
Naples,
Savoy, &c.
 beseech the Pope and the *Venetians* to
 become Arbitrators between him and the King
 of *Spain*, to terminate friendly these dif-
 ferences, which were ready to break forth be-
 tween them, by reason of *Naples*, *Sicily*,
Navarre, and *Roussillon*. And then to shew
 that he had no thought to aggrandize himself,
 nor other ambition then to settle the repose
 of *Christendom*; he had shewed himself ready
 to yeild to the *Spaniard*, *Navarre*, and *Roussillon*,
 so that he restored *Naples* and *Sicily*; not
 for himself, for he would have no other Estate
And the
King had
yeilded his
right.
 then

Part III. then *France*; but for the Pope, and for the *Venetians*, to whom he yielded his right over those Countries.

In fine, by a Legat Apostolick, and by the Remonstrances of all his Associates, he had let the King of *Spain* understand his design, together with the Princes of his house, and had conjured them by the blood of *Jesus Christ* to consent to it; as being Holy, Pious, Charitable, Glorious, and Profitable to all *Christendom*. They had withal laid before him

They had
perswaded
the King of
Spain, or
else forced
him,

the advantages which would have come to himself; and endeavoured to make him comprehend that he would be more rich, less disturbed, and more peaceable: That in twenty years *Spain*, which was almost desert, would be repeopled; and become the most flourishing Estate of *Europe*. I believe it would have been difficult to perswade him to it: for unlimited and ill designing ambition embraces rather Chimera's than solid things, and chooses rather to possess vast and desert Countries, than a reasonable extent well cultivated and well peopled: but possibly Arms might have convinced him, had reason failed.

The great
Prudence
and mode-
ration in-
tended by
the King in
the pursuit
of his de-
sign.

For the rest, the King had resolved to renounce all pretention; not to keep any thing of what he Conquered; not to enterprize any thing, which should not be approved by his Allies, and which he saw not them disposed to contribute to; not to begin in many distant places at a time, but to pursue his expeditions

by

by degrees, still attending the success of the first, before he engaged in others: To shew himself to be without Ambition, without Covetousness or Pride in the distribution of Quarters, Victuals, Spoils and Conquests: To favour weak and necessitated Estates: To send alwaies some honourable and profitable acknowledgement to Captains or Soldiers who had done some fair Exploit: Never to enter into those partialities often conceived between friends and Allies, but to appear alwaies an equal, just, and common friend: To treat honourably the men of War, with praises or reproofs when they deserved it, and to maintain exactly discipline, prohibiting Spoils, Violation and Burnings; that he might be received as the restorer of Nations, and he who brought Peace and Liberty, and not Ruine and Desolation.

He had laid his designs, made his preparations, and fitted all his Engines to come to this end, with all diligence imaginable, for the space of eight or nine years: he had made Friends and Allies on all sides, entertained intelligences every where, had gained the Colledge of Cardinals by great pensions, had drawn to his service all the good Captains in Germany and Switzerland, and had likewise gained all the good Pens in Christendom: for indeed he would have chosen rather to perswade then force people, and instruct them so well in his intentions, that they should have regarded his Arms onely as Tutelar Succours.

The preparations he made.

See

Part III. See here the platform of his design; which without dissembling was so great, that it may be said, it was conceived by an intelligence more then humane. But how high soever it was, it was not above his power: "To which if Princes proportionate not their Enterprizes, it happens that they ruine their Estates, just as a man who undertakes a suit at Law, or makes greater bargains then his purse is able to bear out, is constrained in the end to sell his stock, and drown himself in a Sea of debts and troubles.

The forces he had.

The Prince of Oranges Army.

That of the Electors & German Princes.

That of the Venetians and Savoyard.

His Exchequer for defraying this great designe.

Besides his forces, which were great in number, but ten times greater in valour, being all chosen men, and having amongst them four thousand Gentlemen, daring all things in the sight of their King; the Prince of *Orange* was to put himself in the field with fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse: The Prince of *Anhalt* in *Germany* had appeared with ten thousand: The Electors and Duke of *Bavaria* had in a readiness twice as many, who would have met at several Rendezvous, at the first Sound of the Trumpet: The *Venetians* and Duke of *Savoy* would each have declared with a considerable Army, at the first signal given. For the *Swisses*, besides a levy of six thousand chosen men which came to the King, he might have had as many more as he would. As for his stock of moneys, all his Troops were paid for three months; his Garisons well furnished, all his

Store-

Storehouses on the Frontiers full; his Captains honored with great presents which he had made them: he had fourteen Millions of Livres in the *Bastille*, seven Millions in the hands of the Treasurer of the Exchequer, of the Revenue of the preceding year; two Millions in other hands: Moreover, the accruing Revenue, which was more then twenty seven Millions: and besides all this, *Sully* his chief Treasurer assured him of forty Millions extraordinary for three years; so that he might maintain a four years War without burthening his Subjects with new charges. But he would do it so hotly, that it should last but a short time: for he held it for a *Maxime*,
 "That a wise Prince when he is obliged to it,
 "ought to make it powerful and short, and at
 "first astonish the world with formidable preparations, because by this means it returns to
 "good husbandry; and the Conquests made
 "through fear of his Arms, reach farther then
 "those made by his Arms themselves.

He would make the War powerfully, that it might be short.

I have told you what was his design: none but God knows what would have been the success. We may say however, judging according to appearances, that it could not but be happy; for there appeared no Prince nor Estate in *Christendom*, who would not have favoured it, or who would have taken the part of the house of *Austria*, except the Duke of *Saxony* in *Germany*, and the Duke of *Florence* in *Italy*. But the King might have made them both consent: The first, by assisting against him the heirs of that Duke *Willi-*

Great appearance it might have succeeded, having no Princes to oppose it but the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Florence*

Part III. *am*, who had formerly been despoiled of the Electorate by the Emperour *Charles the fifth*. The second, by stirring up *Pisa*, *Sienna* and *Florence* to cry for liberty, and shake off their yolk under the *Medicis*.

What was
the business
of *Cleves*
and *Juliers*.

Death of
John Duke
of *Juliers*
without
issue.

His succes-
sion dispu-
ted by ma-
ny, particu-
larly by
*Branden-
bourg* and
N. wbourg.

But it is time that I tell you what was the business of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, which had furnished him with an occasion to take Arms, and opened ways to him to begin his great design. *John-Guillaume* Duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves* and *Bergbes*, Earl of the *Mark* and *Ravensbourg*, Son of Duke *Guillaume*, and *Mary* of *Austria* Sister to the Emperour *Charles the fifth*, and Grand-child to Duke *John*, being dead without children, on the five and twentieth of *March*, in the year one thousand six hundred and nine; his Succession bred a Combustion in the neighbouring States. He had four Sisters; the first married to the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*; the second to the Count Palatine of *Nembourg*; the third to the Duke of *Deux-ports*; and the fourth to the Marquis of *Burgaw*. The children issued from these marriages, pretended to this Succession, the nearest excluding the farthest off, and the Sons the Daughters. The Duke of *Saxony*, descended from an Elder Daughter of Duke *John* Grand-father of Duke *William*, said likewise that it preferably appertained to him, because it was concluded in the contract of the marriage of that Lady, that in case an issue Male were wanting to the house of *Juliers*, the Succession should re-
turn

turn to him and his descendants: Now that Part III
 arriving, it necessarily followed that the Suc-
 cession was open to him. The Duke of Ne-
 vers pretended likewise to the Dutchy of
 Cleves, as he alone carrying the Name and
 Arms of Cleves: and the Count of Maulevrier
 for the same reason demanded the County
 de la Mark, for he was the Eldest de la Mark;
 and in this quality he pretended likewise to
 the Dutchy of Bouillon and the Signory of Se-
 dan, which were held by the Viscount of
 Turenne Marshal de Bouillon. The Emperour
 said that all the pretensions of those concur-
 rents were ill founded, for that those Lands
 being Fiefs Masculine, could not fall to
 Daughters; but in default of Males, were
 devolved to the Empire, and therefore he to
 have the disposal of them. And upon this right
 he secretly gave the investiture to Leopold
 of Austria Bishop of Strasbourg, and sent his
 forces to seize those lands under pretext of
 Right, and in the mean time assigned the par-
 ties to appear before his Imperial Majesty, to
 give in their reasons.

The Em-
 perour said
 it was de-
 volved to
 the Em-
 pire.
 He invests
 Leopold of
 Austria,

The pursuits of the Duke of Nevers and
 the Count of Maulevrier were not very
 hot, because they were made understand that
 the Fiefs they demanded were united, and
 could not be dismembred. The Right of
 the Marquis of Brandenburg, and that of
 Newbourg, being most apparent, the greatest
 contestation was between them. The Land-
 grave of Hesse, their common friend, became

Part III. Mediator for them, and made them pass a transaction to decide their difference friendly, without imploying their forces, except against Usurpers; the administration of the Succession remaining equal and common amongst them, saving the Rights of the Emperour. But in the mean time *Leopold of Austria* arrives with his forces, and seizes *Juliers*.

who whilst
*Branden-
bourg* and
Newbourg
dispute,
seizes *Ju-
liers*.

They im-
plore the
Kings affi-
stance,

The two Princes resolved to drive him out, sought assistance on all sides, and particularly implored the Kings: to whom they sent the Prince of *Anhalt* with the Letters of the Electors *Palatine* and of the Duke of *Wirtenbourg*, who assured him that his Arms would be just, powerful, and by the grace of God victorious. The Prince of *Anhalt* without doubt discoursed with him of many other things touching the great design. The King gave his person a most gracious reception, and received his propositions with an unparallel'd joy: he answered him in terms as obliging as he could, that he would march in person to the assistance of his good Allies; and that till such time as he could mount on horseback with an Equipage befitting a King of *France*, he would dayly make some Troops advance; which he did about the end of the year 1609. But moreover he prayed him to let the Confederate Princes understand, that they would do him great wrong, if they thought that he intended any prejudice to the *Catholick* Religion in that Country: for he desired above all things that the Exercise of it

who pro-
mises to
march in
person:

But tells
him he in-
tended to
conserve
the *Catho-
lick* Reli-
gion in that
Country.

it should be conserved in the same estate it was before the death of Duke *William*, who was a Catholick; but *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* were Protestants. Part III.

The Emperor likewise sent to him Ambassadors, one of his chiefest Confidents, intreating him not to favour the rebellion and injustice of these Princes; and to consider, that he could not assist them without doing wrong to the Catholick Religion. *Henry the Great* answered him, That being the Thrice-Christian King, he should know well how to maintain and amplify it: but that he acted not to that intent; that the question was onely about succouring his friends, in which he should never be wanting so long as he had life.

Answer made to the Ambassador of the Empire.

During the whole Winter, he gave order for all preparations for this Expedition, which was onely the cover to a greater. Being resolved to pursue himself the success, he had deliberated before his departure from the Kingdom, to establish so good an Order for the Government of it, that no trouble could arrive. For this effect, he believed that the best way was to leave the Regency to the Queen: but because he knew that she was governed by *Conchini*, whom he did not at all love, he would have her assisted by a Council composed of fifteen persons; to wit, the Cardinals of *Joyeuse* and *du Peronne*; the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Montmorency*, and *Montbazon*; the Marshals of *Brissac* and *de Fervaques*, *Chasteau-Neuf*, who should have been Keeper of the

He establishes good order in the Kingdom before his departure.

Leaves the Regency to the Queen, but gives her a good Council.

Part III. Seals of the Regency, for the King would take his Chancellour with him; *Achilles de Harlay* first President of Parliament; *Nicholas* first President of the Chamber of Accounts; the Count of *Chasteauvieux*, and the Lord of *Lian-court*, two wise Gentlemen; *Pontcarre*, Counsellour of Parliament; *Gesvres*, Secretary of State; and *Maupéou*, Controuller of the Revenues.

He establishes little Councils in the Provinces, who refer to the great one.

Moreover, he would establish a little Council of five persons in every one of the twelve Provinces of *France*; to wit, one person for the Clergy, one for the Nobility, one for Justice, one for the Revenues, and one for the Body of the Cities: and these twelve little Councils should have correspondence with, and dependence on the great one; which should have taken its resolutions from the plurality of voices, the Queen having onely hers. Nor could it indeed take any, but according to the general Instructions formed by the King, or without his Majesties being informed of it, if it were a thing which his Instructions did not clearly enough explain. Thus, though absent, he kept the Reins of his Government, and tied up the hands of the Queen, for fear lest she should take too much Authority, or have been induced to abuse her Command.

1610.
Some put it into the spirit of the Queen, that she

Whilst he applied his spirit to these things, some persons, amongst others *Conchini* and his wife, put it into the spirit of the Queen, that she should, to acquire more dignity and splendour in the eyes of the people, and more ad-

van-

vantagiously to authorize her Regency, be installed and crowned before the departure of the King. For the same Reasons that she desired it, the King found it not agreeable to him; besides that this Ceremony could not be made without a great deal of expence, and without loosing much time, which would keep him at *Paris*, and retard his designs. He had an extream impatience to depart from that City; I know not what secret instinct pressed him to be gone as soon as possible: but for this reason the Instalment troubled him; yet he could not refuse this mark of his affection to the Queen, who passionately desired it.

Part. III.
should be
installed
before the
Kings de-
parture.

He, though
unwilling-
ly, con-
sents.

Sully recounts that he heard him say more then once, *My Friend, this Instalment presages me some misfortune: they will kill me. I shall never depart from this City. My Enemies have no other remedy but my death: they have told me that I should be killed at the first great Magnificence that I make, and that I should die in a Coach: this makes me often times when I am in one, be assaulted with tremblings, and be fearful in despite of my self.*

They counselled him, to shun these ill Prophecies, to depart on the morrow; and leave the Instalment to be done without him: but the Queen was extreamly offended; and he good and obliging, remained onely to content her. The Instalment was made at *St. Denis* on the 13 of *May*; and the Queen on the 16 of the same moneth was to make her entrance into *Paris*, where there were erected Magnifi-

The in-
stalment
of the
Queen.

Part III. cent Preparations to honour this Feast.

Already had the forces of the King met at their Rendezvous on the Frontiers of *Champagne*. Already had the Nobility, who were come from all parts, sent their Equipages: The Duke of *Rohan* was gone to gather together the six thousand *Swisses*; and there were gone fifty piece of Cannon out of the Arsenal. Already had the King sent to demand of the *Arch-duke* and the *Infanta* in what manner they would that he should pass their Country, either as a Friend, or an Enemy. Every hour of delay seemed to him a year, as if he had prefigured some misfortune to himself: and certainly both Heaven and Earth had given but too many Prognosticks of what arrived. A very great Eclipse of the whole body of the Sun, which happened in the year 1608: A terrible Comet, which appeared the year preceding: Earthquakes in several places: Monsters born in divers Countries of *France*: Rains of blood, which fell in several places: A great Plague, which afflicted *Paris* in the year 1606: Apparitions of Fantoms, and many other Prodigies kept men in fear of some horrible event.

Many
Prognosticks,
which seemed to pre-
sage the
death of
Henry 4.

His Enemies were at present in a profound silence: which possibly was not caused onely by their Consternation, and by the fear of the success of his Arms, but out of the expectation they had to see succeed some great blow, in which lay all their hopes. It must needs be that there were many conspiracies against the Life of this good King; since from twenty places

ces advice was given of it; since both in *Spain* and *Milan* a report was spread of his death by a printed Paper; since there passed a Courier eight days before he was assassinated, through the City of *Liege*, that said that he carried News to the Princes of *Germany* that he was killed; since at *Montargis* there was found a Billet upon the Altar, containing the prediction of his approaching death by a determinate blow; since in fine, the report ran through all *France*, that he would not out-live that year, and that he would die a tragick death in the fifty seventh year of his Age. Himself, who was not over-credulous, gave some faith to these Prognosticks, and seemed as one condemned to death: So sad and cast down he was, though naturally he was neither melancholy nor fearful.

Part III
Advice from several places that his life should be attempted.

He seems to believe them, and fear.

There had been at *Paris* for about two years, a certain wicked Rogue, named *Francis Ravallac*, a Native of the Country of *Angoumois*; red haired, down-looked, and melancholy, who had been a Monk; but after having quitted the Frock he before professed, was turned Solicitor of busineses, and come to *Paris*. It was not known whether he was brought hither to give this blow, or whether being come out of some other designe, he had been induced to this execrable enterprize by those people, who knowing that he had yet in his heart some leven of the League, and that false perswasion that the King was about to overturn the Catholick Religion in *Germany*, judged him proper for the blow.

Who Ravallac was,

He is induced to kill the King, but it is not known by whom.

If

Part III. If it be demanded who were the Devils and Furies who inspired him with so damnable a thought, and who spurred him forward to effect his wicked disposition; the History answers that it knows nothing; and that in a thing so important, it is not permitted to make pass suspicions and conjectures for assured truths. The Judges themselves who examined him, durst not open their mouths, nor ever spoke but covertly.

The King
departs the
Louvre to
go to the
Arsenal.

What per-
sons were
with him.

His Coach
stopt in the
street of
the *Ferron-*
nerie.

But see here how he executed his wicked designe! On the morrow after the Instalment, being the 14 of *May*, the King went forth of the *Louvre* about four a Clock in the Evening, to go to the Arsenal to visit *Sully*, who was indisposed, and to see as he passed the preparations made at the Bridge of *Nostre-dame* and the *Hôtel de Ville* for the reception of the Queen. He was at the bottom of his Coach, having the Duke of *Espernon* by his side; the Duke of *Montbazon*, the Marshal of *Lavardin*, *Roquelaure*, *La force*, *Mirebeau*, and *Liancour* chief Esquire, were before, and in the Boots. His Coach entring out of the street of *St. Honorio* into that of the *Ferronnerie*, or Ironmongers, found on the right hand a Cart laden with Wine, and on the left another laden with Hay; which causing some trouble, he was constrained to stop: for the street is very narrow by reason of the shops builded against the wall of the Church-yard of *St. Innocents*. King *Henry the second* had formerly commanded them to be beaten down, to render that passage

passage more free; but it was not executed. Part III.
 Alas, that one half of *Paris* had not rather been
 beaten down, then it have seen this great mis-
 fortune, which hath been the cause of so ma-
 ny infinite other miseries! The Foot-men be-
 ing passed through the Church-yard of *St. In-*
nocents to avoid the trouble, and no person be-
 ing near the Coach, this wicked person, who
 for a long time had obstinately followed the
 King to give his blow, observing the side on
 which he sat, thrust himself between the shops
 and the Coach; and setting one foot on one
 of the spokes of the wheel, and the other against
 a stall, with an enraged resolution gave him a
 stab with a knife between the second and third
 Rib, a little beneath the heart. At this blow
 the King cryed out, *I am wounded.* But the
 Villain, without being affrighted, redoubled
 it, and struck him in the heart; of which he
 died immediately, without so much as casting
 forth a sigh. The Murderer was so assured,
 that he yet gave a third blow, which light only
 in the sleeve of the Duke of *Montbazou*. Af-
 terwards he neither took care to flee, nor to
 conceal his knife; but stood still, as if to
 make himself be seen, and to glorifie or boast
 in so fair an exploit.

Ravaillac
 killeth
 him.

He was taken on the place, examined by the
 Commissioners of Parliament, judged by the
 Chamber of Assemblies, and by sentence drawn
 by four horses in the *Greve*, after having had
 the flesh of his breasts, his arms and thighs,
 drawn off with burning Pincers, without his
 testifying

He is torn
 with burn-
 ing pin-
 cers, and
 drawn in
 pieces by
 four horses.

The History of

Part III. testifying the least emotion of fear or grief at so strange tortures. Which strongly confirmed the suspicion had, that certain Emiffaries under the mask of Piety and Religion had instructed and enchanted him with false assurances that he should die a Martyr; if he killed him whom they made believe was the sworn enemy of the Church.

The Kings
body o-
pened, and
found that
he might
yet live 30
years.

The Duke d'Espernon seeing the King speechless and dead, caused the Coach to turn, and carried his body to the *Louvre*, where he caused it to be opened in the presence of twenty six Physicians and Chirurgeons; who found all parts so sound, that in the course of Nature he might yet have lived thirty years.

His Entrails were the same hour sent to *St. Denis*, and interr'd without any Ceremony. The Fathers Jesuites demanded the heart, and carried it to their Church *de la Fleche*, where this great King had given them his house to build that fair Colledge at present seen. The Corps embalmed in a sheet of Lead, covered with a Coffin of Wood, and a cloath of Gold over it, was placed in the Kings Chamber under a Canopy, with two Altars on each side, on which Mass was said for eighteen days continuance. Afterwards it was conducted to *St. Denis*, where it was buried with the ordinary Ceremonies, eight days after that of *Henry* the third his Predecessor. For it is to be understood, that the body of *Henry* the third remained till then in the Church of *St. Cornille* in *Compeigne*, from whence the Duke of
Espernon

He is bur-
ied at *St.*
Denis.

Espernon, and *Bellegarde* great Esquire, formerly his favourites, brought it to *St. Denis*, and caused his funerals to be celebrated; Civility obliging that he should be buried before his Successor.

The Kings death was concealed from the City all the rest of that day, and a good part of the morrow; whilst the Queen disposed the *Grandeess* and the Parliament to give her the Regency. She obtained it without much difficulty, having led the young King her Son to the Parliament; and the Prince of *Conde*, and the Count of *Soissons*, who alone could have opposed it, being absent. The first was at *Milan*, as we have said before; and the second at his house at *Blandy*, whither he was retired discontented, some days before the Instalment of the Queen.

The Queen made Regent.

When the fame of this Tragical accident was spread through *Paris*, and that they knew assuredly that the King whom they believed only wounded, was dead; that mixture of hope and fear which kept this great City in suspense, broke forth on a suddain into extravagant cries, and furious groans. Some through grief became immoveable & Statue-like; others ran through the streets like mad men; others embraced their friends, without saying any thing, but, *Oh what misfortune!* some shut themselves up in their houses; others threw themselves upon the ground: women were seen with their disheveled haire run about howling and lamenting: Fathers told their

The great desolation in *Paris*, when they knew of the Kings death.

Part III their Children, *What will become of you, my Children? you have lost your Father.* Those who had most apprehension of the time to come, and who remembered the horrible calamities of the past Wars, lamented the misfortune of France, and said, that that accursed blow which had pierced the heart of the King, cut the throat of all true French-men. It is reported that many were so lively touched that they died, some upon the place, and others a few days after. In fine, this seemed not to be mourning for the death of one man alone, but for the one half of all men: It might have been said, that every one had lost his whole family, all his goods, and all his hopes, by the death of this great King.

His age, and the time of his reign.

He died at the age of fifty seven years and five months, the thirty eighth of his reign of Navarre, and the one and twentieth of that of France.

His two wives, Margaret and Mary.

He was married twice, as we have said before: First with Margaret of France, by whom he had no children: The second time with Mary of Medicis. Margaret was Daughter to King Henry the second, and Sister to the Kings Francis the second, Charles the ninth, and Henry the third; from whom he was divorced by sentence of the Prelates deputed for that purpose from the Pope. Mary of Medicis was Daughter to Francis, and Niece to Ferdinand Dukes of Florence. She had three Sons and three Daughters.

He had three Sons by Mary,

The Sons were all born at Fontain-bleau.

The

The first named *Louis*, came into the world Part III. on the 27 September, in the year 1601. at Eleven a Clock at night. He was King after him, and had the Surname of Just. The second was born on the 16 of April 1607. he had the title of Duke of *Orleans*; but no name, because he died before the Ceremony of his Baptism was celebrated, in the year 1611. The third took birth on the 25 of April 1608. and was named *John Baptista Gaston*, and had title Duke of *Anjou*: but the second Son being dead, that of Duke of *Orleans* was given him, which he bore to his death, which happened two years ago.

The eldest of the Daughters was born at and three *Fontain-bleau*, the 22 of November 1602. she was the second child, and was named *Elizabeth*, or *Isabella*: she was married to *Philip* the fourth King of *Spain*, and died some years past. She was a Princess of a great heart, and had a spirit and brain above her Sex: the *Spaniards* therefore said, that she was truly Daughter to *Henry the Great*. The second was born at the *Louvre* at *Paris* the 10. of February 1606. There was given to her the name of *Christina*; and she Espoused *Victor Amadeo*, then Prince of *Piedmont*, and after Duke of *Savoy*; a Prince of the greatest virtue and capacity in the world. The third was born in the same place, on the 25. of November, being the Feast of St. *Katherine*, in the year 1609. and had name *Henrietta Maria*. This is the present Queen-Mother of *England*, widow

Part III. widow of the unfortunate King *Charles Stuart*, whom his Subjects cruelly despoiled of his Royalty and Life : but heaven, the protector of Sovereigns, hath gloriously re-established his Son *Charles* the second.

He had eight Natural children of divers Mistresses.

Two Sons and a Daughter of *Gabriella*.

A Son and a Daughter of the Marchioness of *Verneuil*.

Of the Countess of *Moret* on: Son.

Besides these six Legitimate children, he had likewise eight Natural ones, of four different Mistresses, without counting those whom he did not own.

Of *Gabriella d'Estrees* Marchioness of *Monceaux* and Dutches of *Beaufort*, he had *Cesar* Duke of *Vendosme*, who yet lives, and was born in the month of *June* in the year 1594; *Alexander* great Prior of *France*, who died prisoner of Estate; and *Henrietta*, married to *Charles* of *Lorraine* Duke of *Elbeuf*.

Of *Henrietta de Balsac d'Entragues*, whom he made Marchioness of *Vernueil*, he had *Henry* Bishop of *Metz*, who yet lives; and *Gabriella*, who Espoused *Bernard* of *Nogaret* Duke of *Valette*, at present Duke of *Espernon*, by whom she had the Duke of *Candale*, dead some time since; and a Daughter at present a Religious Carmelite: after which she died.

Of *Jacqueline de Bueil*, to whom he gave the County of *Moret*, was born *Anthony* Count of *Moret*, who was killed in the Service of the Duke of *Orleans*, in the Battail of *Castlenandary*, where the Duke of *Montmorency* was taken. This was a young Prince, whose Spirit and Courage promised much. The Marquis of *Vardes* Espoused afterward this *Jacqueline de Bueil*.

Of

Of *Charlotta d' Effards*, to whom he gave the land of *Romorantin*, came two Daughters; *Jane*, who is Abbess of *Fontevault*; and *Mary-Henrietta*, who was of *Chelles*. He loved all his children Legitimate and Natural with a like affection, but with different consideration. He would not that they should call him *Monsieur*, or *Sir*; a name which seemed to render Children strangers to their Fathers, and which denoted servitude and subjection; but that they should call him *Papa*, a name of tenderness and love. And certainly in the Old Testament, God took the names of Lord, the Mighty God, the God of Hosts, and others, to set forth his greatness and power: but in the Christian Law, which is a Law of Grace and Charity, he commanded us to make our Prayers as his Children, by those sweet words, *Our Father which art in Heaven*.

Part III.
Of *Madam d' Effards*
two daughters.

He loved all his children, and would have them call him *Papa*.

There remains at present that we put here a Summary recapitulation of the Life of this great King, and after erect an Eternal Monument to his glory, in the name of all *France*, which can never sufficiently acknowledge its Immortal obligations to his Heroick virtue.

Summary
recital of
the Life of
Henry the Great.

He began the first motions of his life in the Camp, at the Sound of Trumpets; his Mother brought him into the world with a wonderful courage; his Grand-father inspired strength into him the first day he saw him; and he was brought up to labor from his tenderest infancy.

The first knowledge that age gave him, was to resent the death of his Father killed at the

Part III. siege of *Rouen*, and to see himself encompassed with dangers on all sides, distant from Court, his friends dis-favoured, his servants persecuted, and his ruine conjured by his enemies.

His Mother, a generous and able woman, gave him excellent instructions for Morality and Policy; but very ill ones for Religion; so that he was a *Hugonot* by Engagement, and not by Election. And he often professed that he was not prepossessed, that he should be ready to clear and lay himself open, and that if they could make him see a better way then that he followed, he willingly and faithfully would walk in it; but that till then he was to be tolerated, and not persecuted.

At the age of fifteen years he became chief of the *Hugonot* party, and gave such sensible advices, that the greatest Captains had cause to admire him, and to repent that they had not followed him. He passed the first flowers of his youth, part in Arms, and a part in his Lands of *Gascoin*, where he remained till the age of nineteen years. He was then enticed to come to Court, by a Marriage as illegitimate as cruel: for we may say, that the present Nuptial was the suddain death of his Mother; the Feast, the general Massacre of his friends; and the Morrow of his Marriage, his Captivity, which endured almost four years, at the mercy of his most cruel enemies, and in a Court the most wicked and most corrupted that ever was known. His courage was not at all weakened by this servitude, nor could his soul be infected

infected among so many corruptions: But Part III.
the Charms of the Ladies which Queen Katherine made use of to retain him, begat in him that weakness and vice which indured all his life, not to refuse any of those desires their beauty inspired.

To withdraw himself from the servitude of the Court, he cast himself into the snare of his ancient party, and of the *Hugonot* Religion. He received all those troubles, and all those perplexities which the Chiefs of a Civil War make proof of; his dignity of General not dispensing with the pains and dangers of a simple Souldier. Thrice did he oblige the Court to grant him Peace and Priviledges to his party: but thrice they violated them; and he several times beheld seven or eight Royal Armies make head against him.

His valour, which had already appeared in many occasions, signalized it self with great Renowne at the Battail of *Contras*. This was the first important blow that he struck on the head of the League. A little after it, having assembled the Estates at *Blois*, to Arm the whole Kingdom against him, and exclude him from the Crown of *France*; the *Gnises*, who were believed the Authors of this Tragedy, were themselves made the terrible *Catastrophe*; but which filled all with flame, blood and confusion. The Duke of *Mayenne* Armed himself to Revenge the Death of his Brothers; and the King almost quite abandoned and shut up in *Tours*, was enforced to call him to his aid.

Part III. Our Hero passed by all distrusts and all fears some would have infused into him, to take the part of his Sovereign.

They marched to *Paris* and besieged it: but upon the point to enter, *Henry* the third is Assassinated by a Monk. The right of Succession calling our *Henry* to the Throne, he found the way crossed with a thousand terrible difficulties; the League in head against him, the servants of the defunct King little affected to him, the *Grandeess* every one for his particular ends. The whole Catholick Religion Leagued against him; without, the *Spaniard*, the *Pope*, the *Savoyard*, the *Lorrainer*; within, on one side the people and the great Cities, on the other the *Hugonots*, who tormented him with their continual distrusts. He could not advance one pace without finding some obstacle; so many days, so many battails. His subjects endeavoured to overthrow him as a publick enemy, and he endeavoured to regain them like a good Father. In his Closet, and in his Council, there were only displeasures and bitternesses, caused by an infinity of discontents, treasons and pernicious designs, which were from moment to moment discovered against his Person and against his Estate. Every day a double Combat, a double Victory; the one against his enemies, the other against his followers: using Prudence and Cunning, where Generosity would not serve.

At *Argues* he made it appear he could not be overcome; and at *Tury*, that he knew how

to

to vanquish. Every where, where he appeared, all yeilded to his Arms: The League daily lost places and Provinces: It was beaten by his Lieutenants in other places, as by himself in the heart of his Kingdom. He had forced *Paris*, if he could have resolved to loose it; but by sparing it, he absolutely gained not onely its walls, but its hearts.

The Duke of *Parma* stopt a little the progress of his successes; but he could not change their course. Vertue and Fortune, or rather Divine Providence, seemed linked together to crown him with Glory. God visibly assisted him in all his designs, and preserved him from an infinite number of treasons and horrid attempts which were dayly formed against his Life. In fine, he overthrew the intentions of the Thirdlings, and prevented the resolutions of the Estates of the League, by causing himself to be instructed in the Catholick Religion, and re-entring into the bosome of the holy Church.

When that pretext of Religion was wanting to his enemies, all the party of the League mouldred away; *Paris*, and all the great Cities, acknowledged him; the Duke of *Mayenne*, though very late, was constrained to become his subject, and return to his duty; and all the Chiefs of the League treated separately. This shew'd a great deal of prudence and cunning in the King, to receive them thus disjoyntly: for if they had all together made a treaty of common accord, the party had by this means conserved its bonds together, and not been overthrown, but appeased.

Part III. When he had got the upperhand in his Affairs, and was reconciled to the Pope, and that his subjects were reconciled with him, the ill counsel of the *Hugonots*, who desired always to see him in trouble, perswaded him to declare a War against *Spain*. It was now that he thought he should fall into a worse Estate then ever. They took from him *Dourlens* after the gain of one battel; *Calais* and *Ardres* by storm, and *Amiens* by surprize. The rest of the League which lay hid under the cinders, began to rekindle; the discontents of the great ones, to be discovered; Conspiracies were formed on all sides; his servants were amazed, his enemies emboldened. But his Vertue, which seemed to sleep in prosperity, rouzed it self in adversity: he encouraged his friends, re-took *Amiens*, and forced the *Spaniard* to make peace by the treaty of *Vervin*.

The Duke of *Savoy*, thinking to deceive him in the restitution of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, and to raise factions in his Realm which should hinder the King from demanding reason of him, found that he had to do with a Prince who knew as well how to over-reach him in his designs, as to conquer his forces: for he forced him among those rocks where he boasted he had nothing to fear but the thunder-bolts of Heaven, and made him shamefully restore what he had unjustly usurped.

At the same time the King had thoughts, as well for the security and tranquillity of *France*, as for his own, to generate Children of a lawful
mar-

marriage. Heaven gave him six, and with them a peace of ten years, which was onely lightly troubled by the conspiracy of *Byron*, by the devices of the Duke of *Bouillon*, and by some popular risings against the *Pancarte*, or *Sol pour livre*.

During all this, he laboured principally for two things: the one, his great designe, of which we have spoken; for which he made friends and allies on all sides, cleared his revenues, paid his debts with as good credit as if he had been a Merchant, gathered monies, and pacified all differences which were between those Princes with whom he would associate. The other was to repair the damages and ruines of *France*, which a forty years civil War had caused; remove those causes which imbittered and divided spirits; reform those disorders which disfigured the face of the Estate; make it flourishing and rich, to the end his subjects might live happily under the wings of his protection and his justice.

In the mean time himself was not free from troubles, perplexities and dis gusts: his Mistresses caused him a thousand vexations in the midst of his pleasures; he found thorns even in his Nuptial-bed, and in the ill humour of his wife; and *Conchini* was causer of griefs to him: just as a little but vexatious Mouse may furiously trouble and turmoile the noble Lyon.

As he was ready to mount on horse-back to begin his great designe by the assistance of his Allies, he lost his Life by the most detestable Parricide was ever known. Thus he whom so

Part III. many Pikes, so many Musquets and Cannons, so many Squadrons and Battalions of men, could not hurt in the trenches and in the field of battle, was killed with a Knife by a wicked and trayterous Rogue, in the midst of his capital City, in a Coach, and on a day of publick Joy. Unhappy blow, which put an end to all the joys of *France*, and which opened a wound which to this day hath left its scar.

Henry was of a middle stature, disposed and active, hardened to labour and travel. His body was well formed, his temperament able and strong, and his health perfect; onely about the age of fifty years, he had some light assaults of the Gout, but which soon passed away, and left behinde them no weakness. He had his forehead high, his eyes lively and assured, his nose Aquiline, his complexion ruddy, his countenance sweet and noble; and yet withal, his presence Warlike and Martial, his hair brown, and very thin. He wore his beard large, and his hair very short. He began to grow gray at the age of thirty five years: upon which he was accustomed to say to those who wonder'd at it, *It is the wind of my adversities hath blown me this.*

Parallel of his adversities and prosperities.

“ Indeed to consider well all his life from his
 “ very birth, few Princes will be found who
 “ have suffered so much as he; and it will be
 “ difficult to tell if he had more crosses or more
 “ prosperities. He was born the Son of a King,
 “ but of a King despoiled of his Estates. He had
 “ a Mother generous, and of a great courage;
 “ but a *Hugonot*, and an enemy of the Court.
 “ He

“ He gained the battel of *Contras* ; but he lost a
“ little after the Prince of *Conde* his Cousin, and
“ his right hand. The League stirred up his
“ vertue, and made him know it; but it thought
“ to overthrow him. It was the cause that the
“ King having called him to his assistance, he
“ found himself at the gates of *Paris*, as if God
“ had led him by the hand: but *Paris* arma-
“ ed it self against him, and all his hopes were
“ almost dissipated by the scattering of the Ar-
“ my which besieged that City. It was without
“ doubt a great happiness that the Crown of
“ *France* fell to him, there having never been a
“ succession more distant in any hereditary E-
“ state: for there were ten or eleven degrees
“ between *Henry* the third and him; and when
“ he was born, there was nine Princes of the
“ blood before him: to wit, King *Henry* 2. and
“ his five sons; King *Anthony* of *Navarre* his
“ father, and two sons of that *Anthony*, eldest
“ brothers of our *Henry*. All these Princes di-
“ ed to make room for his succession: But he
“ found it so embroyled, that we may say he
“ suffered an infinity of labours, pains and ha-
“ zards, before he could gather the fair flowers
“ of this Crown. Young he espoused the sister
“ of King *Charles*, which seemed a match very
“ advantageous for him: but this marriage was
“ a snare to entrap both him and his friends.
“ Afterwards, that Lady, in stead of being his
“ Consort, became his trouble; and in stead of
“ being his honour, became his shame. His se-
“ cond Wife brought him forth fair children,
“ to

Part III. “to his no little joy : but her grumblings and
 “disdains were the causers of a thousand dis-
 “contents. He triumphed over all his ene-
 “mies, and became Arbitrator of *Christendom* :
 “but the more powerful he made himself, the
 “more was their hatred envenomed , and the
 “more means used they to destroy him; so that
 “after having plotted an infinite number of
 “conspiracies against his life, they found in the
 “end a *Ravaillac* , who executed in the end

* There are “what so many * others had failed in.

more then “Now it must be acknowledged that all these
 fifty conspi- “adversities which he suffered, ought to whet
 racies a- “his spirit and his courage; and that in fine he
 gainst his “should be the greatest of Kings , because he
 person. “came to the Crown through so many diffi-

His adver- “culties, and in an age very mature.

sities whet “And certainly it is difficult and very rare
 his spirit “for those who are born to a Crown, and bred
 and cou- “up to a near hope to mount into a Throne

Why Prin- “after the death of their father, or who finde
 ces who “themselves too soon raised to it, ever to learn
 come “well the Art of rainging; be it their not being

young to “so happy as to be educated under the care of
 the Crown, “a Mother so vertuous and so affectionate as
 feldome “that great Queen, who hath so diligently cau-
 learn to “fed to be instructed King *Lewis* the 14 her
 govern “son in all good Rules, and in all Maximes of
 well. “Christian Policy ; or so happy as to be bles-

“fed with a Minister so wise and so interested
 “for their good , as that young Monarch hath
 “found in the person of Cardinal *Mazarine*.

“The reasons of this are , that ordinarily
 “those

“those persons into whose hands they fall in
“their infancy, desiring to conserve to them-
“selves the Authority and the Government, in
“stead of obliging or indeed constraining them
“to apply their spirits to things solid and ne-
“cessary, act so cunningly, that they employ
“them onely in trifles unworthy of them, and
“amuse them with so much subtilty, that it is
“impossible that a young Prince can know it.
“In stead of laying incessantly before their eyes
“the true Grandeur of Kings, which consists in
“the exercise of their Authority, they feed
“them onely with appearances and images of
“that greatness, as are exteriour pomps and
“magnificences, wherein there is onely pride
“and vanity. In fine, in stead of instructing them
“diligently in what they ought to know, and in
“what they ought to do, (for all the knowledge
“of Kings ought to be reduced into practice)
“they keep them in a profound ignorance of all
“their Affairs, that they may always be Masters,
“and that they may never be able to be with-
“out them. From whence it happens that a
“Prince, though he be great, knowing his
“own weakness, judges himself incapable to
“govern; and from that moment wherein
“he is possessed with this opinion, he must
“needs renounce the conduct of his Estate, if
“that he have not indeed extraordinary natu-
“ral qualities, and a heart truly Royal. More-
“over, these persons would seize themselves of
“all Avenues, and hinder honest men from ap-
“proaching those tender ears: or if they cannot
“hinder

Part III. "hinder their approaches, they are not wanting
 "to render them suspected, or to deprive them
 "of all belief in the spirit of these young Prin-
 "ces, making them pass with them either for
 "their enemies, or people ill affected, or else
 "for ridiculous or impertinent. Moreover,
 "they have some Emissaries who infatuate
 "them with flatteries, with excessive praises
 "and adorations; who never let them know
 "any thing but what shall be to their ends;
 "who improve their defaults by continual
 "complacencies; who make them believe they
 "have a perfect intelligence of all things, when
 "they know nothing; who make them con-
 "ceive that Royalty is onely a Sovereign Bau-
 "ble, that travel befits not a King, and that
 "the functions of Royalty being laborious, are
 "by consequence base and servile. In this man-
 "ner they soon disgust them with their own
 "Command: they accustom them to have
 "Masters, because they have yet neither so
 "much knowledge nor so much courage as to
 "be Masters. And thus these poor Princes,
 "being not at all contradicted, but always a-
 "dored; nor having any experience of them-
 "selves, or ever suffered pain or necessity, be-
 "come often presumptuous and absolute in
 "their fancies, and believing their puissance
 "to have Peerage with that of Gods: they be-
 "gin to consider nothing but their passion,
 "their pleasure and humour, as if Mankind
 "were created for them, whilst they were
 "created wisely to order and govern Mankind;
 "who

“ who let profusion and waste be made of the Part III.
 “ life and goods of their subjects; and who
 “ with an unparallel'd insensibility, hearken no
 “ more to their Laments and Groans, then to
 “ the Lowings of a slaughtered Ox.

“ On the contrary, those who come to the Those who
 “ Crown at a greater distance, and in a riper come to a
 “ age, are almost always better instructed in Crown at
 “ their affairs: they apply themselves more greater di-
 “ strongly to Govern their Estates; they will stance and
 “ alwaies hold the Rudder; they are juster, a more ripe
 “ more tender, and more merciful; they age, are
 “ know better how to manage their Revenues; more capa-
 “ they conserve with more care the blood and ble and
 “ the goods of their subjects; they more better.
 “ lingly hear their complaints, and do better
 “ Justice; they do not with so much vigor use
 “ their absolute power, which oft-times makes
 “ the people despair, and causes strange revo-
 “ lutions.

“ If the reasons why they are so be sought, The rea-
 “ they are because they have been in a Post or sons of it,
 “ place, where they have often heard truth:
 “ where they have understood what ignominy
 “ it is for a Prince not to enjoy his own perso-
 “ nal power, but to leave it to another: where
 “ though they have had some flatterers, they
 “ have likewise had open enemies, who by
 “ censuring their faults have induced a Refor-
 “ mation: where they have heard blamed the
 “ faults of that Government under which they
 “ were, and have blamed them themselves; so
 “ that they are obliged to do better, and not
 “ to

Part III. "to follow what they have condemned: where
 "they have studied to govern themselves
 "wisely, because they were dependants, and
 "fearful of punishment: where they have of-
 "ten heard the complaints of particular per-
 "sons, and seen the miseries of the people: in
 "fine, where they have understood by suffer-
 "ing, what evil is; and to have pity of those
 "who suffer injustice, because they themselves
 "have proved the rigour of a too high and se-
 "vere Government. We have two fair Ex-
 "amples in *Lewis* the twelfth, surnamed the
 "Father of the people, and in our *Henry*, two
 "of the best Kings who in the last ages have
 "born the Scepter of the *Flowers de Lis*.

A mystick
 Crown to
 the glory of
Henry the
 Great.

Now who would gather together and wor-
 thily compose all the Heroick virtues, the No-
 ble actions and Eminent qualities of *Henry* the
 Great, would make him a Crown much more
 precious and resplendent then that wherewith
 his head was adorned on the day of his Coro-
 nation. That treasure of freedom and sincer-
 ity, free and exempt from malice, from gall
 and bitterness, should be the matter more
 precious then Gold. His Renown and his Glo-
 ry, which will never have end, should be the
 Circle. His Victories of *Contras*, of *Arques*,
 of *Yury*, of *Fontaine-Franzoise*; his Negotia-
 tions of the peace of *Vervin*, of his accommo-
 dations between the *Venetians* and the Pope,
 of the Truce between the *Spaniard* and the
Hollander, and that great League with all the
 Princes of *Christendom*, for execution of the
 designe

designe of which we have spoken, should be the Part III
 branches. Then his warlike valour, his generosity, his constancy, his credit, his wisdom, his prudence, his activity, his vigilance, his œconomy, his justice, and a hundred other virtues, should be the precious stones. Amongst which, that Paternal and Cordial love he had for his people, would cast a fire more lively and bright then the Carbuncle: The firmness of his courage, alwaies invincible in dangers, would bear the Price and Beauty of a Diamond: And his unparallel'd Clemency, which raised up those enemies he had overthrown, would appear like an Emerald, which sends forth enlivenings and joy into the eyes of all that behold it. To continue the *Metamorphosis*; I will yet say, that so many wise Laws which he made for Justice, for Policy, and for his Revenues; so many good and useful Establishments of all sorts of Manufactures, which produced to *France* the yearly profit of many Millions; so many proud buildings, as the Galleries of the *Louvre*, the *Pont-neuf*, the *Place Royal*, the *Colledge Royal*, the Keys for Merchants of the *River Seine*, *Fontain-bleau*, *Monceaux*, *St. Germain*; so many publick works, Bridges, Causewaies, Highwaies repaired; so many Churches rebuild'd in many places of the Realm, should be as the Ingravements and Imbellishments.

Let us Crown then with a thousand prayes the immortal memory of that great King, the love of the *French*, and the terror of the
Spani-

The History of

Part III. *Spaniards*; the Honour of his age, and the Admiration of Posterity: Let us make him live in our hearts and in our affections, in despite of the rage of those wicked persons deprived him of life: Let us shout forth as many Acclamations to his glory, as he hath done benefits to *France*. He was a *Hercules*, who cut off the Head of the *Hydra*, by overturning the League. He was greater then *Alexander*, and greater then *Pompey*, because he was as Valiant; but he was more Just: he gained as many victories, but he gained more hearts. He conquered the *Gaules*, as well as *Julius Caesar*; but he conquered them to give them liberty, and *Caesar* subjugated them to enslave them. Let his Name then be raised above that of the *Hercules*, the *Alexanders*, the *Pompeys*, and the *Caesars*: Let his Reign be the Model of good Kings, and his Examples the clear Lights to illuminate the eyes of other Princes: Let his Posterity be Eternally Crowned with the Flowers *de Lis*: Let them be alwaies happy, alwaies Triumphant. And to compleat our wishes, let *Lewis* the Victorious his Grand-child, Resemble, or if it be possible, Surpass him.

F I N I S.

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ly Hardouin de
Beaumont de Perefice

known ^{to} but not recorded by
Wing who gives the cross-
reference

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